Justice Douglas *Is* Available—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

January 26, 1952

U. M. T.

National Need or Booby Trap?

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE

vs.

SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON

*

Act II in Asia: Indo-China

The French Must Choose - - *Alexander Werth*

A Vietnamese Speaks - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Chiang's Guerrillas - - - - - - - - *Andrew Roth*

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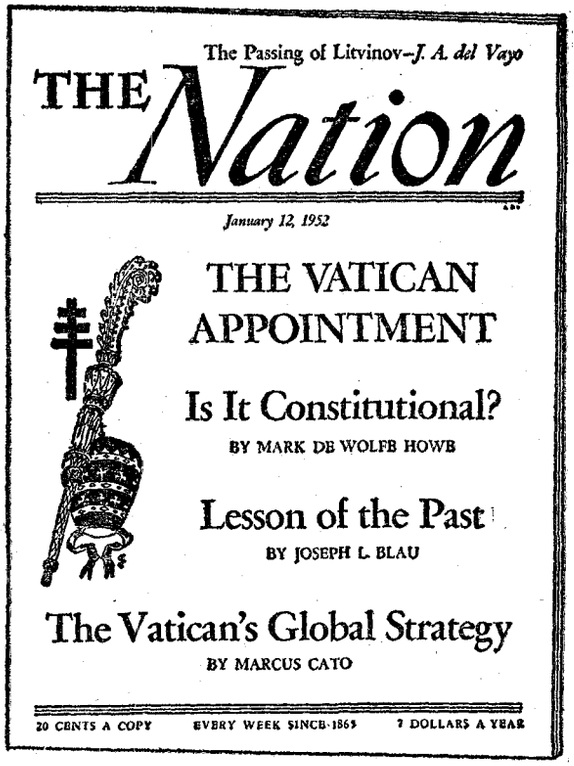

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT TO Congress added little really new although it elaborated many of the points made in his State of the Union Message. Again Mr. Truman emphasized the "great gains in our basic economic strength," gains which, assuming military security has been achieved and peace thereby preserved, would make possible "a material well-being never known before." This promise of jam tomorrow was presented as compensation for a cut in butter today which need not be very severe. Combating the arguments of those who have questioned our ability to carry the load of rearmament, the report pointed out that in terms of 1951 dollars the growth of production goods and services since 1947 exceeded the total cost of the national-security program last year. Since a further 5 per cent increase in national output is a reasonable expectation in 1952, we should be able to cover the contemplated large additions to the defense program while maintaining at least 1947 living standards. The implication of all this is that a pay-as-we-go policy, which the President urged strongly last year, would be feasible without undue sacrifice. Unfortunately, Mr. Truman now seems to have abandoned this objective. Facing a prospective deficit of $16,000,000,000 in 1952-53, he is asking Congress for additional revenue amounting to only $5,000,000,000, and even this modest request is couched in terms that suggest he is resigned to a refusal. The almost certain consequence, as Keith Hutchison pointed out last week, is increased inflationary pressure, which, even if held to manageable proportions, must mean serious maladjustments of the economy and much greater inequalities of sacrifice than would be necessary if the Administration and the Congress united in balancing the budget.

✶

MR. CHURCHILL'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS WAS undoubtedly a *succès d'estime*; it is less sure whether, to use David Lawrence's phrase, "he made a sale." Senators and Representatives of all shades of opinion praised the speech as a performance, but many seem to have steeled themselves against being persuaded by it. When the Prime Minister's words confirmed their own convictions—for instance, his appeal to the United States to preserve its atomic supremacy—they drew loud cheers; but an expressive silence greeted his suggestion of stronger American support for Britain in Egypt. From the British point of view Mr. Churchill's visit to Washington has, perhaps, achieved one of its major objectives—an improvement in the atmosphere—and one of its secondary purposes—an increase in steel shipments to Britain; but taken as a whole it appears to have been a limited success. On his return home, Mr. Churchill is certain to be criticized for giving away too much for too little. Already upset by the way Washington has exerted pressure on the Japanese government to agree to a treaty with the Chinese Nationalists—a move with dangerous economic and political implications—Britons are definitely alarmed by the Prime Minister's expression of support for Washington's Formosa policy and his implied promise to back up an extension of the Korean war if the armistice talks break down. The advantages of "increasing harmony" between British and American policy in the Far East are well understood in England but wholehearted unison with the American orchestra will be difficult to achieve until its brass sections are toned down.

✶

IF GENERAL EISENHOWER WAS SKEPTICAL about President Truman's warning that a political career would expose him to rotten eggs, tomatoes, and dirt, he now has had a first taste of what it means to enter the Presidential sweepstakes. The Taft forces are out to get the Republican nomination by fair means or foul. According to David Ingalls, Taft's spokesman at the San Francisco meeting of the Republican National Committee, Eisenhower is merely a "good-looking mortician" who if nominated would preside over the Grand Old Party's last rites. The ruthlessness and venom with which Taft's champions flailed out at Eisenhower won some sympathy at San Francisco for the General's spokesman, Senator Lodge. A little earlier, similar tactics had drawn from Governor Warren of California a warning that those who live by the sword eventually die by the sword. But none of this means that Taft's blitz will not work. If Eisenhower refuses to take off his uniform and come home to campaign before the Republican convention next July 7, Taft will be the only potential winner who can give authoritative promises to Republican politicians hungry for patronage, the only front-running candidate who can make solid deals and change his tactics from day

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 69
Honoring "President" Tubman 72
Justice Douglas *Is* Available 73

ARTICLES

Universal Military Training:
National Need *by Wayne Morse* 74
Booby Trap *by Edwin C. Johnson* 75
Indo-China: The French Must Choose *by Alexander Werth* 76
Indo-China: A Vietnamese Speaks *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 78
Chiang's Guerrillas *by Andrew Roth* 80
Sprague—Conscience of Oregon *by Richard Neuberger* 82
Korea and the "New" Japan *by Lawrence K. Rosinger* 85

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Henry Adams: The Mind and the Man *by Elizabeth Stevenson* 87
Acheson Defended *by H. Stuart Hughes* 88
Coaches and Coronets *by Robert Phelps* 89
Year's End *by Ernest Jones* 90
A Precious Brew *by Hilary Conroy* 91
Books in Brief 92
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 92
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 93

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 95

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 449
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 96

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to day. His adaptability has already been shown by his readiness to reverse himself on a medical-education bill, after protests from American Medical Association lobbyists, and vote against a measure he had previously indorsed.

*

AN EISENHOWER SUPPORTER SIGHED WITH relief after the San Francisco meeting had ended and somberly suggested to reporters that "for amateurs" the General's group had "done all right." What he meant, presumably, is that the Eisenhower battalions had escaped encirclement, at least for the moment, by Taft's heavy columns. But Eisenhower's candidacy is not aided, among independents, by the ponderous efforts of Arthur Krock, in the New York *Times*, to prove that the people really know all they need to know about the General's views on domestic policy—and that these views, if we understand what Krock is talking about, are considerably to the right of Robert Alphonso Taft's.

*

TWO OFFICIAL DECISIONS HANDED DOWN recently in Germany have an ominous ring. In one case three Jewish merchants of Polish nationality had been brought before a Berlin city court. The details of the case are of no interest, but the following statement in the sentence is worth recording. "The three defendants are Jewish merchants of Polish nationality. . . . One of the aggravating circumstances against the defendants is the fact that they are foreigners. As such they enjoy the hospitality of Berlin and they have badly abused it. . . . Also to be considered aggravating is the fact that the defendants are Jews." In the second case the widow of Colonel Count Marogna-Redwitz was informed by the Bureau of Finance in Munich that her pension was to be stopped because her husband had been sentenced to death for high treason—the Colonel had been involved in the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Hitler in July, 1944. This is apparently still considered a major crime by German justice in the year 1952. Those who remember the anti-democratic decisions of German courts and administrative authorities under the Weimar Republic will surely feel: this is where we came in.

*

THE SCHOOL FIGHT IN ENGLEWOOD, NEW Jersey, which *The Nation* first brought to national attention (Our Town in Turmoil, June 16, 1951), has flared up again. At the beginning of the new year the Board of Education apparently felt that it would be expedient to yield a point to those who have been conducting a bitter campaign against the public schools of the community. Before recommending a textbook or supplementary book for general use, the superintendent must now require the teacher who is to use the book, or a committee of teachers, to certify in writing that the

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book does not "advocate the support of a foreign power nor of a doctrine inimical to the principles of government established by the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of New Jersey, and further that it does not advocate a principle or doctrine inimical to the American system of free enterprise." The New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, has properly objected to this new burden placed upon teachers in a time of general fear and uncertainty. The regulation is not aimed, of course, at preventing the intrusion of an alien philosophy or ideology; its sponsors know perfectly well that no revolutionary doctrines are being taught in the schools of Englewood, New Jersey—one of America's wealthiest suburbs. Its purpose is doubtless to appease the reactionary minority. But the inevitable effect of the regulation will be to intimidate teachers in the exercise of their professional judgment, since their tenure can be threatened by the charges of bigots that materials they have certified do in fact advocate a doctrine "inimical to the American system of free enterprise." And just how is this phrase, we wonder, to be defined?

*

THE REAPPEARANCE OF MUSSOLINI'S FAMOUS paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, has aroused a good deal of surprise and indignation among those who still refuse to admit the resurgence of Italian fascism. The event, however, is only the most striking of a number of similar happenings in recent days. The list of journalists who were practicing Fascists in the Mussolini era is already a long one. *Messaggero*, Rome's most popular daily, is headed by Mario Missiroli, one of fascism's so-called intellectual leaders, the author of "L'Uomo Mussolini," a minor "Mein Kampf." On *La Stampa* are the Fascist journalists Giullio de Benedetti and Paolo Monelli. Signoretti is editor of *Roma*, an important Naples daily. Other newspapers and magazines, the press services, and the radio stations employ dozens of former Fascists. It is hardly too much to say that outside the small and financially weak left and liberal papers, the best journalistic plums in Italy today drop into the hats of those who can prove an impeccable pro-Fascist past. It did not take long.

*

ON THE DAY MRS. HARRIET MOORE DIED IN Nims, Florida—just a week after her husband Harry Moore, State N. A. A. C. P. leader, was murdered by a bomb placed in their home—a series of four weekly nation-wide radio broadcasts entitled "Florida Speaks" was launched over the far-flung Liberty network "to let the people throughout the country get the true picture of conditions down here." (For background on the Liberty network see *The Nation* for November 3, 1951, page 370.) Significantly, the programs originate from Station WLBE in Leesburg in Lake County, where Sheriff Willis McCall recently shot down two handcuffed Negro prisoners, Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin, killing the former and seriously wounding the latter. The "Florida Speaks" series, according to Wendy Husebo, co-owner of WLBE, will answer "the many unfavorable stories and comments of Northern newspapers and radio stations." Speakers will include Doyle Carlton, president of the state chamber of commerce, Karl Lehman, secretary of the Lake County chamber, and W. E. Debman, author of the recent novel "Weep No More My Lady." Mrs. Moore can no longer weep or speak, but her daughter Rosalea, who narrowly escaped the blast, or Walter Irvin, who managed to cling to life by playing dead, could say a few words about conditions in Florida too.

*

AMONG ARAB NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS none has been more responsible and moderate than the Tunisian movement, and no nationalist leader more eminent and admired than Habib Bourguiba, head of the Neodestour Party. Ever since the end of the war Bourguiba and his followers have engaged in negotiations, punctuated by strikes, in an effort to win, not independence, but autonomy within the French Union. Early last year an agreement was reached in principle but never carried into effect. France has insisted that the European minority in Tunisia—some 300,000, half of them French—shall have as many seats in the Assembly as the 3,500,000 Tunisians. This the Bey has refused, under firm pressure from the nationalists, and in the middle of January he dispatched an appeal to the United Nations for intervention by the Security Council. The consequences could have been foreseen by anyone familiar with the old, ugly pattern of colonialism on the defensive. Invoking the state of siege proclaimed in 1939 and never rescinded, the French police ordered the dissolution of the Neodestour Party, denied it a meeting hall, and then, without warning, in true totalitarian style, seized M. Bourguiba and four of his lieutenants in their homes before dawn and carried them away to unknown places of detention.

*

HOW RECKLESS AND PROVOCATIVE THIS action was will be shown in the days ahead. Bourguiba and his followers are not even charged with a crime. The arrests are described as a "measure of removal" to end the "systematic agitation" of the nationalist leaders. If they serve any such purpose it will be a modern miracle. A contrary result is far more probable. In Tunisia resentment and nationalist excitement will rise, hope of a settlement by negotiation will disappear, and the fever will spread across the borders. In the United Nations the Arab countries will class France with Britain as an overt

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enemy, and the United States will be caught in a new dilemma: how to support French control of an area essential to Western defense plans without totally and fatally alienating the Arabs. In this situation only the Russians can afford to smile.

*

IN OUR OPINION JOE LOUIS, FORMER WORLD heavyweight champion, lost one of the most important fights of his life when he decided to play in the San Diego open golf tournament despite the acknowledged color-line barring of another Negro, Bill Spiller. When the Professional Golf Association—sponsor of the event—announced that all non-Caucasians were to be barred from membership, Louis lashed out at such "Hitler like" action and said that he would enter the tournament. Eventually he did, but on a technicality: he is an amateur. Horton Smith, president of the P. G. A., explained that "Joe Louis, as an amateur with a Number 2 handicap, will be permitted to play under the United States Golf Association rules." Spiller, he added, since he is a professional, must abide by the P. G. A. rules. In referring to his decision to play Louis said that "you crawl before you walk." He seemed satisfied that the affair "had brought the matter before the public . . . and now it is up to the P. G. A. and the newspapers to see that the situation is cleared up." It was an obscure loophole in the P. G. A. rules through which Joe Louis "crawled." If the ex-champion will stay in his "biggest fight" to the end he will apply for entry into other P. G. A.-sponsored tournaments and insist that Negro professionals be allowed to participate also.

Honoring "President" Tubman

PRESIDENT TRUMAN sent a delegation of four distinguished Americans—Ambassador Edward R. Dudley, Major General James S. Stowell, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, and Carl Murphy, editor of the *Afro-American* of Baltimore—to represent him at the inauguration of President W. V. S. Tubman for a second eight-year term as President of Liberia. One can only hope that the members of this delegation were unaware of the circumstances under which President Tubman was reelected; but Mr. Truman must have known the facts.

When W. V. S. Tubman was first elected in 1942, the Liberian constitution stipulated that the President could not be reelected. Tubman began his administration by issuing various enlightened edicts and sponsoring a number of important amendments to the constitution. For example, the franchise was extended to the aborigines, who form over 90 per cent of the population. Since Liberia was founded, the country has been run by the Americo-Liberian minority—descendants of freed slaves from the United States—with a ruthlessness that would incite the envy of any ruling class in Africa. As recently as 1930 Americo-Liberians were shipping natives to the slave markets of Fernando Po. To give the vote to the masses seemed to be a bold step forward. Another amendment sponsored by Tubman permitted the President to be reelected for a second eight-year term.

The test of Tubman's "reforms" came in the election of May, 1951 (see editorial comment, *The Nation,* May 5, June 9, 1951). A new party, which included both aborigines and Americo-Liberians, selected as its candidate Dihdwo Twe, a full-blooded aborigine of the Kru tribe who had been educated in this country. It was Twe who in 1930 first brought to light the facts of Liberia's slave trade and forced an official investigation. His efforts won him international fame but hardly added to his popularity among Liberia's ruling class. As a result of the investigation, and of ensuing action by the League of Nations, C. D. B. King, who was President at the time, was forced to resign. He is today Liberia's ambassador in Washington.

From the outset Twe had great difficulty in qualifying as a Presidential candidate. Tubman claims that Twe's party did not file in time; Twe claims that the government's constant interference made it impossible for his supporters to obtain signatures to petitions. A month before the election Twe and his coworkers filed a statement with Tubman citing various acts of harassment, violence, and terror, and asking for an extension of time. The request went unanswered. Whatever the merits of these conflicting assertions, it is a fact that the ballot, in true totalitarian style, gave the name of only one candidate, Tubman, who was reelected without a dissenting vote. Soldiers armed with machine-guns were present at the polling places to arrest any voter bold enough to write in another name.

After the election an indictment was returned against Twe and eighty-six of his followers, charging them with sedition. This outrageous act caused scarcely a ripple in the world press. Indeed, as long as Liberia remains a museum piece among the nations, of no appreciable interest to anyone, it will be difficult to focus attention on happenings there. Twe promptly, and wisely, fled to the high bush, where Kru tribesmen hid him while soldiers and government-recruited witch-doctors scoured the country with instructions to bring him in dead or alive. Eventually he escaped by canoe, after two days and nights on the open sea, to a nearby European colony, where he now lives in hiding.

The State Department and the United Nations have refused to intervene or make any representations to the government on the ground that the dispute is an internal matter. This excuse has a hollow ring in view of the protests and censures distributed to similar offenders who happen to fall within the Soviet orbit instead of

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ours. Washington's policy may have been influenced by the fact that Tubman has cooperated in a Point Four program for Liberia which promises to be quite successful. Then, too, Liberia is a member of the United Nations, where a vote is a vote. But whatever the reasons for the failure of the State Department to act, this country does not need to honor men who have no better title to high public office than Tubman's to the Presidency of Liberia.

Justice Douglas Is *Available*

ARTHUR KROCK to the contrary notwithstanding, *The Nation* is convinced that Justice William O. Douglas is "available" for the Democratic nomination this year. Mr. Krock's story in the New York *Times* of January 14 that Justice Douglas had eliminated himself from consideration for the nomination was one of those curious political exclusives for which Mr. Krock is noted and which must be scrutinized with great care.

Three interpretations of the story are current. One is that President Truman or some member of the White House staff "leaked" the story to Mr. Krock to discourage those Democrats who think of Justice Douglas as the real heir to the Roosevelt tradition. Another assumes that Justice Douglas and Mr. Krock are good friends although they do not see eye to eye politically; in fact, it has been suggested that Justice Douglas is the unnamed "Northern Democrat" who was the source of Mr. Krock's report of last November 7 that President Truman had offered to support General Eisenhower for the Democratic nomination. This interpretation implies that the story was a curious political strategem: the announcement that Justice Douglas was *not* "available" was supposed to stimulate a demand for him.

In our view the story and its timing were part of a plan to prevent a movement in favor of Justice Douglas. Confronted with the published fact that he had sent President Truman a note last August stating that he was not and would not be a candidate, Justice Douglas could be expected to do what in fact he did—"reiterate his decision." The timing of the story is important. It appeared on the day after the New York *Times Magazine* had printed an article by Justice Douglas, The Black Silence of Fear, which is by all odds the strongest, most thoughtful, and most carefully considered statement he has made on current issues. Referring to the article, Mr. Krock wrote: ". . . [Justice Douglas's] attribution of responsibility to the 'military' mind of what he termed the perilous ascendancy of an orthodox and fatal attitude toward Asia was taken by some as a challenge to those Democrats who hoped to nominate General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower in place of Mr. Truman. If Administration politicians who don't believe the President will run again, and were thinking of Justice Douglas as his successor, got goose-flesh and developed a fever over this article, the news of his August letter from India [to the President] should restore their political health." Other politicians, too, might want reassurance on this subject. Indeed, everyone supporting General Eisenhower, including Mr. Krock's employer, the New York *Times*, must have appreciated the kindness of whoever it was in the President's entourage that released, just at this time, a letter which Justice Douglas had written the President last summer.

Despite the letter, we are convinced that Justice Douglas is available for the Democratic nomination. We believe that he has given every possible indication compatible with his office that he is available. Apart from this, the American people can demand that any individual be a candidate, and if enough of them join in the demand, the chances are excellent that he will yield. The moral pressure that can be brought to bear is truly irresistible.

To repeat what we said last week, if there was ever an election that called for a great debate on foreign policy it is this one. General Eisenhower has been in Europe a year. During that year it has become clear that the emphasis in American policy has shifted from economic reconstruction and development to military containment. Justice Douglas is as much a symbol of the former as General Eisenhower is of the latter. If these two men were the opposing candidates, the people would have a real choice. An attempt is being made to take Justice Douglas out of the struggle not because he might win the Democratic nomination but because a pro-Douglas movement could endanger the plans of those who want to preclude all debate on foreign policy in the coming campaign. Just how far the pro-Eisenhower forces are willing to go in an effort to avoid a real debate is suggested by Walter Lippmann's surprising statement in the New York *Herald Tribune* of January 15 that it is really quite unimportant what General Eisenhower says about major issues, so "synthetic and contrived" are most political declarations. We too place only limited credence in speeches and platforms, but we have faith in the educational value of a political campaign in which the big issues are fully discussed by the candidates.

The notion that it is proper for a military commander on active duty to become a silent candidate for the Presidency but improper for a Justice of the Supreme Court to be considered by the people must be demolished. To help along the good work, we are going to start "leaking" stories ourselves. In the best Krock tradition, then, we can report that "it became known this week" that Justice Douglas could be induced to make himself available as a candidate for the Presidency if enough people wanted him—and our mail indicates that a large number do. The people who feel this way should resolutely reject the myths of his unavailability and start talking about him.

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Universal Military Training

NATIONAL NEED

BY WAYNE MORSE

United States Senator from Oregon

ONE of the first items of business to be taken up by the Armed Services Committee in this second session of the Eighty-second Congress will be the recommendations of the National Security Training Commission for a program of universal military training. Last year the Congress approved the principle of universal military training; the questions now are how and when we shall translate that far-reaching decision into a positive program. Although the legislation adopted in June, 1951, would seem to have determined the basic issue, the mail coming to my desk indicates that many people believe Congress should reexamine the need for a U. M. T. program. I think the reasons for universal military training are as compelling now as they were six months ago, and it is my hope that with a minimum of delay Congress will approve the broad outline of the program recommended by the National Security Training Commission—a program which is designed to organize the defenses of the nation so that they can be supported in the indefinite period of danger facing us without jeopardizing our economy or impairing the structure of our democratic society.

National defense rests, in the last analysis, on trained man-power. The public must realize this, and understand that the concept of a "push-button" war is an illusion. No responsible military or political leader can give our people assurance that, should world events force us into all-out war, we would have time to train the necessary forces before hostilities began. Swift mobilization will be required, and unless we maintain enormous standing armies, which might well cripple our economy, the only way in which we can be prepared to meet an attack is by having a reservoir of militarily trained citizens. That is the fundamental reason for a U. M. T. program, coupled with a sound reserve structure.

Senator Wayne Morse

The hopes of dictators for world domination have always been nourished by the conviction that democracies, with their deep-seated suspicion of large standing forces, will permit their defenses to deteriorate during periods of relative calm. Had we adopted a system of universal military training following the end of World War II instead of demobilizing at breakneck speed, we certainly would have avoided a substantial part of the costs of our recent and projected defense build-up. Moreover, it is not unlikely that the aggressors in Korea were encouraged to launch their attack by the knowledge that the military defenses of the United States had been allowed to dwindle to a fraction of the forces available at the end of hostilities in 1945.

A U. M. T. program will insure that the burdens of defense are shared by all, in the democratic way. When the attack came in Korea, we found ourselves compelled to rely primarily on reservists and members of the National Guard for trained replacements. Thousands of these had served in World War II, and it is grossly inequitable that they should now be undergoing a second major disruption in their lives and careers as the direct result of our shortsighted policy in not preparing younger men to answer the call. In the long-term crisis that confronts us—and the situation is of such gravity and unpredictability that, in the words of General Marshall before the Senate Armed Services Committee last January, we must be prepared for effective action "whether the challenge comes with the speed of sound or is delayed for a lifetime"—we must be capable of responding to periodic military alarms, including all-out war if necessary, in a manner that will least injure our social and economic structure. The tragic experience of the past year and a half, when necessity required the large-scale recall of veteran reservists, is to my mind ample testimony to the need for U. M. T. and a reinvigorated reserve program.

Prompt approval of a U. M. T. program is essential for another important reason. It makes explicit the ultimate duty of citizenship, which has always been implied—the duty to bear arms in defense of the nation. In the past, owing to the unrealistic policy of unpreparedness, the youth of every generation of Americans have gone to war psychologically and physically unprepared. Thousands of needless casualties have occurred because young men have been denied the military training which would give them a better chance to survive in battle. It is only fair that before they are committed to combat these young men should be prepared in military skills and mental outlook to discharge their obligation of citizenship.

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Adopting a program of universal military training does not mean that we thereby abandon efforts to achieve an honorable and peaceful settlement of the causes of world tension. We must continue those efforts. But it seems painfully plain to me that we cannot expect to meet the threat to our free society by neglecting our military defenses or hopefully assuming that a policy of unpreparedness will induce the Kremlin to abandon its objective of a world subservient to it.

Realism requires that the free world be prepared to defend its freedom, and a universal-military-training program is an essential step toward that goal.

BOOBY TRAP

BY EDWIN C. JOHNSON

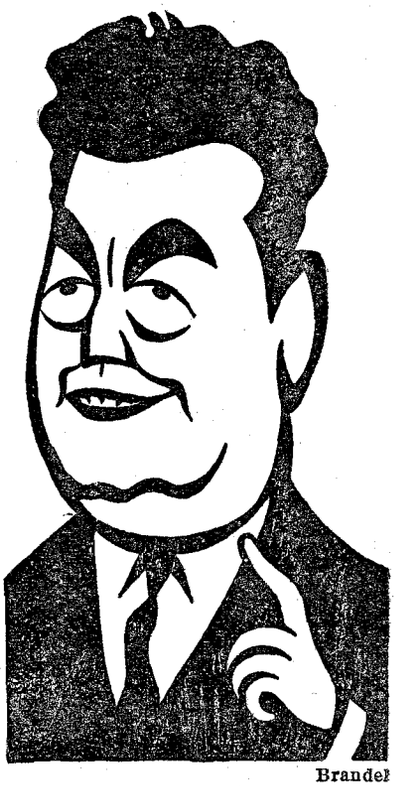
United States Senator from Colorado

EVERY major country that has utilized universal military training has reaped a harvest of poverty and national impotence. Look at Germany, Japan, and France. U. M. T., because it has been oversold by the military, creates a Maginot Line complex. Even the members of the National Security Training Commission in their recent report to the Congress recognize this fact when they state: "We emphasize that U. M. T. . . . could be dangerous if U. M. T. were, for example, to become an excuse for the precipitate reduction of our standing forces."

The present U. M. T. plan provides for a six months' training period and seven and a half years "on call" in the military reserve. General Hershey accurately describes this reserve obligation as a mortgage on a boy's life. During those extremely important seven and a half years a boy's soul is not his own. That "on call" shadow will follow him everywhere with its threat of fouling up any plan he may have for his life.

Under the present Selective Service Act draftees can be forced into the reserves after their regular two-year term is over; that is, they are drafted for two years but must serve six years in the reserves, whereas service in the reserves was formerly voluntary. But the present Selective Service Act expires in 1954; it is not yet a permanent part of the security program of the government. U. M. T., on the other hand, has been justified by the Pentagon as part of the permanent policy of the government in war or peace. It would thus give to the President an enormous reserve, on a compulsory basis, which could be called into service without a declaration of war by Congress.

Every boy should grow up to be what he wants to be. Some will want to be soldiers; others sailors, teachers, lawyers, writers, bankers, mechanics, farmers, or merchants. Congress does not have enough wisdom to interfere with the development of careers. We must cling to "freedom of choice" if we would have a happy, progressive, successful society.



Brandel

Senator Edwin C. Johnson

How can a boy assume the responsibilities of a family, the purchase of a home, an investment in business, a heavy indebtedness which would work out with careful nursing, when he lives under the shadow of U. M. T. for seven and a half years? The young man who wants an expensive, technical education may well hesitate to start his course because of his uncertainty about the future. The boy who wants to marry and get a job may hesitate for the same reason.

In the early days of the emergency in Korea the professional proponents of U. M. T. played a clever game. The Selective Service Act of 1948 was about to expire. Renewal legislation was prepared in the Pentagon. But when it was submitted to Congress, U. M. T. had been incorporated in it. Congress was prepared to reenact Selective Service but was not willing—at least the House was not willing—to take U. M. T. also. So a compromise was worked out under which a new Selective Service Act was passed with a provision that a commission should be appointed to study U. M. T. The appointment of the commission implied that Congress had somehow approved U. M. T. in principle. This was not the fact. In any case the report of the commission, dated October 29, 1951, is now before the Congress. In the spring of 1951 the United States was caught in an emergency. Selective Service was necessary. It was democratic. It had proved its effectiveness. But the professional militarists, under cover of the emergency, managed to advance the cause of U. M. T. by the provision for appointment of the commission.

U. M. T. is in direct conflict with the fundamental principles on which this country was founded. It prostitutes the principle of free choice and free enterprise that has given the American nation the strength to grow to its present unchallenged power. No matter how one endeavors to dress up this vicious proposal, no matter what fanciful language is employed, under U. M. T. every young man becomes the plaything of the President for eight years. All individual choice and all considera-

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tion of the special aptitudes of American boys are effectively suppressed. Oh, I know the shouts are going up: "The routine of the boys will only be delayed slightly, and after the short period of training they will be permitted to pursue their lives in their own way"; but that is a lie.

The so-called training period is not important; the six months will pass quickly. It may do the boy little or no harm. From his standpoint, it may be of some indirect benefit. But it cannot add one iota to the nation's military strength. Ten years ago General Marshall told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that a soldier required eighteen months of intensive training, with fifteen months the absolute minimum. New weapons, new military concepts, and new military techniques of every description require time to master. War is becoming more specialized, and it requires specialists to manage its complexities. One does not become a specialist in any line in six months. But the six months are only the window dressing on this U. M. T. proposal. The big thing is the seven and a half years "on call." The six months' training is merely to fool parents, who naturally want to believe that the training their boy receives may save his life. It is a booby trap for parents. How the military can keep a straight face when they talk about the six months of training is beyond me. They throw in six months of monkey business to get a mortgage on American youth for seven and a half years.

Through the years the professional proponents of universal military training have resorted to every conceivable trick to clothe this totalitarian device in the garb of military preparedness and thus make it acceptable to the American people. By using the scare technique they have induced many sincere and patriotic folk to enlist in the cause. Heretofore the American people have recognized U. M. T. for what it is—peace-time conscription, a plan to Prussianize American youth, a scheme to destroy that rich heritage of energy and ingenuity which is the peculiar quality of free men. Panicky citizens who have pledged their undying support to the free-enterprise system now seem ready to deny it to American youth. Confused, frustrated, and hysterical, they now seem ready to abandon their long struggle against militarism.

I submit that the present Selective Service Act is fully adequate for obtaining and training the man-power for the defense of this country. Moreover, I want to make it crystal clear that I am in favor of using the draft act whenever and as long as the conditions warrant drafting American youth for military service. There is nothing beneficial to national defense which we might do under universal military training that cannot be done under the Selective Service law.

Indo-China: The French Must Choose

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 17

THE decision to hold the three-power conference on Indo-China in Washington was taken, it has been learned, as the result of a secret communication from M. Pleven to the United States ambassador in Paris. French intelligence, M. Pleven said, had acquired a great deal of information showing that the Chinese Communists had "aggressive intentions" toward Indo-China. According to *France-Soir,* M. Pleven hoped through this communication both to speed up American deliveries to Indo-China and to alert Allied opinion in favor of organizing common defense in Southeast Asia. Although it has been decided to hold a three-power military conference, the British, *France-Soir* declares, are taking the French "disclosures" with a grain of salt, and the Americans have made it clear that they cannot in the present circumstances intervene actively in Indo-China.

It is curious that the Pleven *démarche* to the United States ambassador should have been made when it was; one detects a strange coincidence with the beginning of the full-dress debate on Indo-China in the National Assembly. Was not the "warning" to the United States about the Chinese menace calculated to produce some new "element" which would help France to find a way out of the Indo-Chinese tangle? M. Pleven must have known what the debate on Indo-China was going to reveal—a practically universal conviction that France simply could not afford to continue the war on the present basis. In 1952 the war will cost between one-sixth and one-seventh of the entire budget. This overwhelming financial argument was reinforced by the clear necessity of "making a choice"; it was beyond France's financial means and military capacity to pursue the war in Indo-China and at the same time build up the large army in Europe which alone would enable it to pull its weight in the future organization of Western defense.

At the end of the three-day debate, it is true, the National Assembly passed by a large majority the appropriation of 326 billion francs for the land forces in Indo-China during the current year, but this sum does not cover the navy or air force, and as in past years some

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supplementary estimates will be required before long. The general mood at the Assembly was that "it couldn't go on like this"; if the credits were passed, it was only because the French army in Indo-China could not be left high and dry without money or equipment.

VIEWS which a year ago would have been considered "defeatist," or "unfriendly to France"—some articles on the subject printed in this journal were so described at the time—were openly expressed in certain quite unexpected quarters; and these remarks corresponded to the general mood much more closely than did official utterances. M. Mendès-France, the most "unorthodox" of the Radicals, once again dwelt on the relative backwardness of the French economy, which made it utterly impossible for France to build up an army in Europe and at the same time carry on the war in Indo-China. If it persisted in this effort, he said, it would plunge into the most disastrous inflation.

> I am asking for a change of policy in Indo-China. I have never advocated capitulation, but I have asked and am still asking that every avenue be explored for an agreement with Vietminh. I am told one cannot negotiate with Communists, with Moscow agents. But what else are the Americans doing in Korea? . . . Our ministers now vaguely talk about "internationalizing the conflict" or about entering upon multilateral conversations—which simply means we shall lose what trumps we still have. . . . But the main point is this: as long as we go on losing all these officers and men in Indo-China, as long as we go on spending 500 billion francs a year, we shall have no army in Europe, and only 500 billion francs' worth of inflation, poverty, and fuel for Communist propaganda.

More surprising was the condemnation of the Indo-Chinese war by another Radical leader, M. Daladier, who argued that as long as 7,000 French officers, 32,000 n.c.o.'s, and 134,000 professional soldiers were "marooned" in Indo-China, France would be hopelessly outnumbered in its North African possessions. It was asking for trouble. It was, in fact, inviting the United States to build up Germany as the greatest military power in Europe. M. Daladier did not think it possible to negotiate with Vietnam and did not much believe in the possibility of "internationalizing the conflict," but he wanted the United Nations to negotiate a truce, to be followed by a referendum in each province in which the people of Vietnam "would freely choose the regime they desire." Whether M. Daladier meant that France should withdraw completely from Indo-China if the people so chose or should maintain a few strongholds in the country, whatever the results of the referendum, he did not make clear. But perhaps it was a matter of minor importance to him; what obviously was worrying him most was German rearmament.

Two other opinions should be quoted—those of M. Costes-Floret of the M. R. P. and of M. Palewski of the Gaullists. The former seemed to believe in a "deal" with Peking. Though he was less explicit than at the M. R. P. congress at Lyon last summer, where he proposed a "trade" by which the U. N. would admit both the Bao Dai regime and the Peking government, he still thought France could gain something from an "international settlement" in the Far East covering Korea, China, and Indo-China. The two great weaknesses of his argument were of course that the Bao Dai regime, like the Bao Dai army, is little more than a myth, and that no one in Washington in a Presidential year would be likely even to consider the admission of Peking into the U. N.

M. Palewski advocated "internationalizing" not the peace but the war, demanding that Britain and America take an active part in it, if only with their navies and air forces. This might have sounded a little more convincing but for a striking remark made by a Socialist Deputy, Gaston Deferre, who asserted that when Churchill was last in Paris and was asked what help Britain could give France in Indo-China, he replied, "England did well to get out of India." It was a good story, and *perhaps* true. In any case, it had a dampening effect on M. Palewski's crusading zeal.

THE most curious thing about M. Pleven's rather ill-tempered comments on Indo-China was that they showed no real attempt to answer his critics' two major arguments—that the war was ruining the French economy, and that it was reducing France's political and military weight in Europe. The most that could be read into his speech was that he might conceivably agree to "negotiate with Peking," whatever that meant. He claimed that the French forces had done a magnificent job in Indo-China in the past year, that they were getting stronger every day (in the same breath he said Vietminh, "actively supported by the Chinese," was also getting stronger), and that in a year or eighteen months from now France could reach a settlement "from positions of strength." His glowing account of the Bao Dai army was later debunked by one speaker after another. His warm tribute to the help received from the United States was not impressive, since it is common knowledge that this help has been far below the expectations entertained by the French during the visit to Washington last summer of De Lattre, who for a few short days was written up in the press as "the French MacArthur."

In a series of well-informed articles in the *Observateur* Claude Bourdet sharply criticizes the "official euphoria" displayed by the government; he says that Vietminh is receiving very substantial American equipment from China and has also been buying from the Bao Dai crowd, and that its anti-aircraft batteries are particularly effective. Vietminh has chosen to wage a war of attrition rather

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than embark on an all-out offensive because the French are being worn down more rapidly than they—the French casualty figures which he gives are much higher than the official ones. Bourdet also cites some unsavory examples of the friction existing between the French and the Bao Daists, and of the financial scandals reported at Hanoi and Saigon. Indeed, he believes there might be less resistance in Paris to terminating the war in Indo-China if there were not so many rackets in Indo-China—notably the piastre racket, based on the two exchange rates—in which not only numerous individuals in Paris but whole political groups in France are keenly interested.

A still more serious allegation made by Bourdet is that Washington is not really interested in seeing a large French army in Europe. In fact, it may welcome the absence of such an army as an additional excuse for going ahead with the rearmament of Germany, a much more "reliable" ally. At the same time Washington likes to see France keeping Indo-China warm—just in case. This, Bourdet argues, may be the chief reason for the government's "unimaginative" policy.

Is it not also one of the reasons why the Pleven course is nearing its end, why it will be replaced either by a more determined "war policy" in Indo-China—here the American Republicans and De Gaulle may find some common ground—or by a more determined peace policy? For better or worse, there is a noticeable breakaway everywhere in Europe from the Truman-Acheson-Eisenhower conceptions. In the main, neither Britain nor France believes any longer in a Russian invasion, in the urgent need to rearm Germany, or in the advantages of "no East-West trade."

Indo-China: A Vietnamese Speaks

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, January 15

FEW people in America realize what a headache the Indo-Chinese struggle is for the French. It not only threatens France with bankruptcy but it makes little sense from the viewpoint of European security. The officers who constitute the cadres of the French army in Indo-China amount to as many as will be required for the ten divisions France has promised to contribute to NATO. Small wonder, then, that the distinguished economic expert, Pierre Mendès-France, Radical Deputy and French delegate to the International Monetary Fund, should have proposed that the government open talks with the Ho Chi Minh regime. Even better evidence that the French would like a settlement is to be found in the statement by Foreign Minister Schuman that France "would not refuse an accord which would put an end to that conflict under conditions which would be honorable," and in the decision to send a Parliamentary mission to Indo-China to study the situation in all its aspects.

Today it is not so much the French who must be convinced of the desirability of a settlement in Indo-China as official Washington. Above all, Western opinion needs to be informed on the real issues in Indo-China. Unlike the Indonesian Republic, which was in a position to wage an excellent public-relations campaign in the United States, the Vietnam Republic is little known. Recently I had a chance to talk about the war in Indo-China with a remarkable Vietminh leader, educated in England, actively associated with Ho Chi Minh, and now in Geneva for several months' study of the specialized agencies of the U. N. He prefers, on account of his position, to remain anonymous, but I can vouch for the fact that he speaks with authority. The following report of what he had to say in answer to a series of questions from me throws light on the situation in Indo-China.

"Since arriving in Europe I have read and heard the most fantastic things about the Vietnam Republic. Most of the people who condemn us as a collection of Communists ignore both the origin of our fight and our purposes. From the very beginning of the Japanese occupation of Indo-China there was a resistance movement which included nationalists of every tendency. As Japanese strength was reduced by the American offensive, we were able to establish several liberation zones in the mountains of northern Indo-China, and when Japan finally collapsed, the resistance movement, under Vietminh direction, seized power in Hanoi and thus the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born.

"People here talk as if there were two real governments, ours and one headed by the Emperor, Bao Dai. But Bao Dai is no ruler. He exists only because the French colonialists forced the hand of the French government, whose more intelligent members wanted a settlement with us. The only juridical claim Bao Dai can put forward is the false theory about his abdication. It is suggested that since his abdication was brought about by force, it has no legal validity and he is therefore the legitimate ruler of Vietnam. The answer to that argument can be found in the language of his abdication itself. Nowhere does it indicate pressure but rather a dignified readiness to make all sacrifices beneficial to the nation.

"We are not fighting Bao Dai and we are not even

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fighting France, which after all is a democratic republic, or the French people, who like ourselves are fond of freedom. If they had behaved differently and instead of seeking our destruction by force had really wanted to come to terms with us, we would not be fighting the colonialists either. We are fighting only those who seek by ruse or violence to reestablish their domination.

"Vietnam is not a one-party state, as is so widely assumed. Its government is chosen through popular elections. The constitution is republican, non-socialist. The Parliament is intrusted with the supreme powers of the Republic. The President of Vietnam resembles the President of the United States much more than the French President. But he differs in that he is elected by the Parliament from among its members. He chooses the Prime Minister from the Parliament.

"An important feature of the Vietnam constitution, confirming its democratic structure, is the provision creating the Permanent Committee of the People's Parliament, composed of the president and the vice-president of the Assembly along with twelve permanent and three alternate members elected by the Assembly. In this way parliamentary control is assured in any emergency. For instance, as a consequence of the war the National Assembly elected in January, 1946, is today dispersed, but its Permanent Committee follows the government everywhere and is always consulted before any important decree is issued. Of the twenty-seven posts in the government, six are held by Communists, two by Socialists, four by Democrats, one by a member of the Revolutionary League, one by a member of the Nationalist Party, the others being distributed among independents or representatives of religious groups (two Roman Catholics and one Buddhist). One must remember that one of the first decrees of the government proclaimed freedom of faith, fixing as national festivals both Buddha's and Christ's birthdays. In spite of heavy pressure from the Vatican we have many good Catholics on our side. They know that they have not been and will not be molested in their belief.

"The chief item in the government's broad program is agrarian reform. The Western powers don't understand the feeling of Asia about this. Take Korea. The strongest weapon of the North Koreans and Chinese is not the Russian planes you hear so much about; it is the support of the peasants.

"In Indo-China it is exactly the same. 'To gain the peasantry is the way to become Emperor,' said Mencius, the Chinese sage. Vietnam has followed this maxim. Peasants constitute the great majority of the population. In the strictest democratic conception they ought to receive, and have received, the most attention. From the outset the Republic has taken various measures to improve their lot. Every citizen over eighteen years who asks for it receives seven acres of land belonging to the state, with the obligation to till them. After two years the land becomes his property. The Republic has also distributed land belonging to French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors. To help the peasants overcome many difficulties of cultivation, the government is granting them ever-increasing financial assistance. Finally the government is encouraging the *hiên diên* movement promoted by certain rich patriots. This movement consists of a kind of emulation among landlords to put their rice fields wholly or partially, temporarily or permanently, at the disposition of a local community, a fighting group, or the nation itself. Cooperatives and the labor-exchange associations—of which there are already nearly 20,000—make it possible for peasants to exchange their agricultural experience and help one another in working the land.

"As for the war, the outlook is not bad. From the start our strategy has been geared to a protracted war, not to an effort to achieve a quick solution. Time is working for us. The war is a terrible burden, but it is still worse for the French, who are obliged to maintain an expeditionary army. Besides, you cannot separate the destiny of Indo-China from the destiny of all Asia, and in Asia the liberation movements are bound to win, sooner or later. General de Gaulle said the other day in Paris: 'One does not make war with the Pentagon and the initials [he was referring to SHAPE] but with the soul and the blood of the people.' Well, he is a reactionary, and if he should come to power he would also fight us, but there is a lot of truth in what he said. You have an example in Malaya, where not more than 10,000 natives, very badly equipped, have for years engaged some 30,000 trained British troops, armed with modern weapons. Our material resources may be smaller, but owing to special circumstances in Indo-China, France's energy and vitality are ebbing while our army and people are each day stronger and more united. The enemy must abandon many a base and retreat to the big towns; we can fight everywhere.

"A negotiated agreement with the French is still possible. France today has relatively few political or economic interests in Indo-China. It remains for reasons of prestige. There are people in France, even in conservative circles, who realize the war is a disaster and who see clearly the weakness and vacillation of Bao Dai. But whether such people will be heeded at this stage seems doubtful. It has been suggested that the U. N. should decide the Indo-Chinese dispute. But international action means intervention by the United States and Great Britain conceived in terms of the global strategy of the Western coalition. This ignores the fact that the Vietnam problem is only part of the crisis of colonialism, and of the resurgence of Asia.

"We are accused of receiving military aid from Communist China, but if we are receiving any aid—I say *if*—

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it would hardly match the aid the United States is giving France to liquidate us. The whole discussion of the threat of 'Communist expansion' seems rather beside the point in Asia, where the one vital business is the effort of the rural masses—half the world's population—to throw off the control, the *existing* control, of the colonial powers and wipe out the landlord system through which they are exploited. Until this is accomplished we are not likely to worry too much about 'accusations' of the sort you hear from our opponents."

Chiang's Guerrillas

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, January 15

AMERICAN policy toward Communist China may hinge on the fate of 4,000 malaria-ridden Kuomintang Chinese guerrillas holed up in the mountainous jungles of the Shan states of northeastern Burma. Their veteran commander, General Li Mi, recently made a secret trip to Formosa, via Bangkok and Hongkong, to get supplies and reinforcements. Adequate food, arms, and medical supplies—which must be shipped through Bangkok—can only be provided with open American help. To focus attention on this impending American decision, Peking and Moscow have been publishing ridiculously exaggerated accounts of United States activities. "The American command," Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky declared in the U. N. General Assembly on January 3, "is busy transferring Kuomintang troops from Formosa to Siam and Western Burma. It is preparing large-scale military operations on the borders of the Chinese People's Republic."

Released as Mr. Churchill's ship was approaching New York, the Vishinsky blast seemed a rather obvious attempt to dramatize the differences among the non-Communist countries in their relations with China. One of the most difficult assignments the Churchill-Eden team undertook was to persuade Washington to "freeze" the situation in Asia on the thin chance that it might abandon the Formosa regime after the November elections. By drawing attention to the Kuomintang guerrillas in Burma, Peking and Moscow hope to emphasize not only the gulf between the British government and the Truman-Acheson "moderates" in Washington but the unbridgeable chasm separating British opinion in general from the MacArthurite strategists who want to keep the Communists "off balance" by sponsoring Kuomintang raids on mainland China. Although Li Mi's troops have been described by the Manchester *Guardian* as "the only Kuomintang guerrilla force to achieve any substantial success," they are more likely to win victories in Washington than in Yunnan.

Li Mi is a veteran Kuomintang general who managed to escape through the Communist lines after his troops had been smashed in a decisive battle along the eastern section of the Lunghai Railway in 1948. He came into the news when the Kuomintang appointed him governor of his native Yunnan and commander of its remaining troops, after its long-time governor, Lu Han, went over to the Communists. In January, 1950, the Kuomintang's last armies on the mainland, the 26th and the 8th, were routed by the Communists in southern Yunnan. About 10,000 troops from these units and the 93d division were pushed back toward the high passes linking Yunnan and northern Burma.

Beginning in March, 1950, the infiltration of Nationalist soldiers in civilian dress became a source of severe embarrassment to the struggling Union of Burma government, whose small, over-extended army could barely hold Burma's major cities and main roads. The northern command could spare only a couple of regiments to police the mountainous border. Thus, while some Kuomintang troops were disarmed and imprisoned and a few were killed, most of them crossed the border into the eastern Shan province of Kengtung, where many Chinese refugees had settled as farmers during World War II.

The bulk of these troops entered between May and June, 1950, just when Burma and Communist China decided to exchange recognition. In order to show its honorable intentions toward the Peking regime, the Burmese government flew two regiments into Kengtung and attacked the Kuomintang troops. They took some prisoners, but most of the Chinese escaped.

That General Li Mi could survive and be reinforced during the next year provides an interesting insight into the shifting network of forces operating in Southeast Asia. He not only received support from pro-Kuomintang elements among the local Chinese and from pro-Kuomintang Chinese throughout Southeast Asia, but with typical Chinese dexterity established relations with some of the autonomous feudal Shan chieftains, who valued his aid in local rivalries. The Burmese government, lacking seasoned troops and adequate transport to defeat him in battle, tried diplomacy. It first explained to the Peking government its military inability to expel the Kuomintang

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troops, and then, having no diplomatic links with Formosa, it asked the United States to induce the Kuomintang regime to withdraw them. At the same time Burma complained to the Siamese government that gun-running was going on across Siam's borders. It became clear that the Siamese government, which had become increasingly pro-American and anti-Communist after it received a $10,000,000 grant in 1950—it was the first Asian country to send troops to Korea—was placing no restrictions on the activities of Li Mi and his agents and was even allowing him to establish a sort of headquarters in Bangkok. Since Siam also winks at Li Mi's use of the overland route, supplies can now be shipped to him at Bangkok, sent to the railhead at Chiengmai, and then taken by mule track into Burma. The only question is how much direct support the United States has given to this operation. The Burmese have heard planes dropping supplies in the Kengtung area but not been able to learn their nationality.

Last summer news agencies carried the story that three columns of General Li Mi's guerrillas, allegedly totaling about 10,000 men, had thrust sixty-five miles into Yunnan from Burma. From Formosa came the wild report that the General had seized one-third of Yunnan. But in August the guerrillas began to filter back into comparatively hospitable Burma, having lost half their effectives in combat with the Communist forces in Yunnan. General Li Mi's only consolation was that the Chiang government's propaganda had given a temporary shot in the arm to the remaining guerrilla bands in mainland China, fast evaporating as a result of the determined efforts of the Chinese Communists to extirpate "counter-revolutionaries." As the "open season" approached with the end of the rains in December, it became necessary to replenish Li Mi's supplies if his force was not to disintegrate.

WHEN it leaked out that General Li had passed through Hongkong on Christmas Eve on his way to Formosa, Communist China made wild charges about a plot to attack its southwestern borders. These charges were repeated by Vishinsky in a somewhat garbled form in Paris. The Peking New China News Agency listed the flights between Formosa and Bangkok of General J. Lawton Collins, United States Chief of Staff, and other American and Kuomintang Chinese officials and came to an unproved conclusion: "All these activities indicate that under the sponsorship of the United States a new conspiracy is hatching between the reactionary authorities of Thailand and the Chiang gang in Taiwan." The Agency claimed "inside information" concerning a November 13 conference at which Major General William Chase, head of the United States Military Assistance Advisory Groups in Formosa, had said: "Because, at one time, the Burmese government felt uneasy about the Kuomintang remnant troops concentrating in the northern part of the territory of Burma, the work of reinforcing the bandit Kuomintang troops had to be suspended for a while. Since the government and public opinion of Burma have relaxed their attention on this matter, Washington circles consider that the plans for transporting the bandit troops to this area must be fulfilled in the immediate future." The report added that the Seventh Fleet was to transport 70,000 Kuomintang troops to Bangkok before the end of 1951.

Peking can scarcely imagine that 70,000 troops could be shipped through Bangkok without anyone noticing them. And it probably knows how small a threat Li Mi's guerrillas constitute from a military standpoint. But it may well have wanted to nudge Burma into taking action against the Kuomintang troops using Burmese territory as a base. Above all, the Chinese, like the Russians, have hoped to divide the United States and its allies over the question of China. British diplomats were overjoyed when the Truman-Acheson "moderates" routed General MacArthur and his supporters. But they have been concerned at the tendency of the Washington Administration to take over, bit by bit, the policy of the MacArthurites with regard to China. As long ago as April 14 a "Voice of America" broadcast from Washington said: "It is one of the openest secrets here that both British and American agents have maintained contact with resistance forces in South China from the first days and that aid to such forces has been flowing by various channels for many months." Kenneth Younger, Britain's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, expressed "dismay" at the allegation, denying there was any truth in it "as far as the United Kingdom is concerned."

The broadcast, however, was never disavowed by the State Department, and its consistency with American policy was indicated by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk in a speech delivered on May 18 implying United States support for rebels against the Peking regime. Although Mr. Rusk was chided for overstating the American position, a high State Department official explained American intentions in not dissimilar terms to Sebastian Haffner, then Washington correspondent of the London *Observer*. "America intends, in fact," he said "to continue a wait-and-see policy toward the Chinese mainland, watching developments and reserving the right to give diplomatic and material support to any local or national government which might develop out of the present resistance and guerrilla movements."

Under the terms of last autumn's Mutual Security Act the United States was converted from a protector of the Formosa regime to an active ally. The 1952 Mutual Security program grants to Formosa $300,000,000—a third of the whole Asia allotment—mostly to modernize Chiang's twenty-five divisions. The implications were spelled out in the recent New York statement of Major

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General Chase, who described the United States and the Chiang regime as "equal partners, in the fight against the evil of communism." This was the first mention of the possibility of American and Kuomintang forces working together outside Formosa. It is clear that General Chase conceives the ultimate objective of his mission to be the overthrow of the Communist government at Peking. But how much can such an objective be furthered by sending aid to inaccessible Kuomintang guerrillas based in a friendly state (Burma) which recognizes the Peking government?

This is not the only political embarrassment that America's almost solitary support of the Chiang regime has produced. Thomas J. Hamilton, the New York *Times* United Nations correspondent, has disclosed that the United States delegation in Paris is feverishly seeking a way to deal with the situation which would arise if the Korean war were to end completely and formally. For peace in Korea would remove the rather thin pretext under which the United States Seventh Fleet is guarding Formosa to protect Korea's "flank." If the Korean fighting ends formally and the Chinese Communists then attack Formosa, American participation on Chiang's side would be open unilateral intervention in China's civil war, and would not have United Nations' support or authorization.

For such a move the United States would probably not win the backing of Britain or France. The American delegation, therefore, according to this usually well-informed source, is seeking to have the United Nations establish a trusteeship over Formosa, thus providing a United Nations cover for American naval action to protect Formosa from Communist landing forces. But if this were done it would be difficult for even the pro-American majority in the United Nations to continue to support Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Certainly a United Nations trusteeship could not permit Formosan aid to mainland raids like those of General Li Mi. This predicament may explain why a section of the United States delegation is reported to be opposed to any *formal* peace in Korea except under the currently impossible condition of a united non-Communist state.

American sympathy for General Li Mi's guerrillas contrasts with Britain's recently renewed acknowledgment that the Peking regime cannot be replaced in the near future, certainly not by the Kuomintang. The British know that the Truman Administration could not, even if it wanted to, abandon Formosa in an election year. But if General Li Mi is going to "needle" the Chinese Communists by raids into Yunnan, the Foreign Office would certainly prefer to have no label showing that the needle was "Made in the U. S. A."

Sprague—Conscience of Oregon

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Salem, Oregon

OREGON is the most solidly Republican of all the Western states. This Republicanism is in the blood, and not even a 40 per cent population increase since 1940 has been able to dilute it. Only Oregon, in company with steadfast Maine and Vermont, never elected a Democratic United States Senator throughout Franklin D. Roosevelt's long tenure in the White House. Yet despite its faithfulness to the G. O. P., Oregon is the single state of the Pacific seaboard which has not enacted a loyalty oath or similar test legislation. Although the witch-hunting hysteria has been particularly virulent along the West Coast, in Oregon a person applying for a position of public trust still need swear only the time-honored allegiance to the constitutions of the state and nation.

This happy state of affairs is due in the main to the influence of one man, ex-Governor Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the *Oregon Daily Statesman* in Salem. Perhaps because he was born in Kansas, Sprague's admirers compare him to the late William Allen White of the Emporia *Gazette*. Sprague is a Republican who has abandoned—as White did—his party's predominant isolationism to support the foreign policy of the Democratic Administration. Like White a tireless defender of civil liberties, Sprague recently rebuked his party for inviting Senator Joe McCarthy to speak in Oregon. "If the Republican Party is to indorse McCarthyism," said this lifelong regular Republican, "it deserves to be laid in a grave both wide and deep. And to win the Presidency by condoning McCarthy's tactics would be to obtain office under false pretenses."

But Sprague salts such forthright opinions as these with an old-fashioned economic conservatism which makes him mistrustful of federal spending, of exotic figures in high office, and of concentrations of power in either corporations or trade unions. Only recently he criticized utility companies and public-power districts alike for waiting for the government to build dams across the Northwest's swift rivers instead of doing the

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, well-known journalist and member of the Oregon state senate, was one of the five Senators who voted against the teacher's-oath bill.

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job themselves. He assails his own community when it urges federal economy in the abstract and at the same time asks for local pork-barrel projects.

Sprague is Oregon's most influential citizen. His impact on the everyday affairs of the state far transcends that of Senator Wayne L. Morse, whom Sprague sustains against a host of reactionary foes. People in many parts of the Northwest subscribe to the *Statesman* in order to read the front-page column which the ex-Governor writes daily under the title "It Seems to Me." When the Chicago *Tribune* tried to read Morse out of the Republican Party last November, Sprague immediately came to the Senator's defense. "Morse is a party maverick, to be sure," he wrote. "But in my judgment he is a better Republican than Colonel Robert R. McCormick. The McCormick brand of Republicanism finds expression in blind isolationism, in distortion of facts, and in character assassination after the manner of Senator McCarthy."

Sprague intrudes himself boldly into the local issues that rock Oregon, a field in which Morse always has been extremely cautious. When a Republican state liquor commissioner took a trip at the expense of the Seagram distillery, Sprague at once insisted that he resign, although some Oregon papers which had been indignant about similar transgressions by the Democrats in Washington, D. C., kept silent. Sprague also has hammered constantly at the legalized pari-mutuel racing that makes a folly of police efforts to restrict less lucrative gambling.

IF THE Republicans look westward for a Vice-Presidential nominee, as they may have to do if Taft of Ohio or Eisenhower of New York becomes their Presidential candidate, they could do worse than pick this sixty-four-year-old publisher, often called "the conscience of Oregon." Probably few men would make a stronger appeal to the independent voters whom the G. O. P. must annex if it is not to be a permanent minority party. Young Republicans soon may circulate petitions to put Sprague on the 1952 primary ballot as the beneficiary of the state's convention votes for second place on the national ticket.

A strong religious and moral strain in Sprague often determines his stand. He neither drinks nor smokes, and his paper accepts no advertisements for hard liquor. An official of the Presbyterian church in the United States, he has cited Scripture against local corruption when other leading Oregon Republicans were looking the other way in embarrassment.

Yet Sprague is rarely doctrinaire. He asserted that "Taft can't have intelligence and integrity and have truck with McCarthyism," but he refused to become disturbed when adversaries of McCarthy were unable to round up signatures in Madison, Wisconsin, to a petition upholding the Declaration of Independence. He felt this was a childish way of opposing a sinister thing like McCarthyism. "The right to petition is guaranteed in our Constitution, and that implies also the right not to petition," he wrote in his column in the *Statesman*. "If 111 people refused to sign the reporter's petition, such was their privilege. That they can do so with impunity is still one of the benefits of our system."

Alvin Katz

Charles A. Sprague

For Sprague, Vermont is a political ideal. "I favor," he says, "sound, honest Republicanism which doesn't let people get pushed around." In his view this is epitomized by such individuals as Senator George Aiken, former Senator Warren Austin, the U. N. delegate, and former Governor Ernest W. Gibson. Indeed, Sprague fought with such ardor against the teacher's oath because he felt its passage in the legislature would challenge his boast that Oregon is "the Vermont of the West," a citadel of tolerance and stability.

The bill for a teacher's oath sailed through the state Senate by a vote of twenty-five to five. The expected Democratic opposition to it collapsed under pressure from a veterans' lobby; Democrats contributed some of the most raucous speeches in favor of the measure. The next morning members of the House of Representatives found a nervous, angular man with sparse hair and rimless glasses pacing the marble corridors like a panther. One by one, the ex-Governor pulled aside legislators who were his friends or acquaintances. "Oregon has not surrendered to hysteria, as have our neighbors in Washington and California," he told these men. "Let's not run down the flag now. Communists can be rooted out of the schools by positive action on each case as genuine proof develops. To subject all teachers to an invasion of their personal and academic freedom would be burning down the house to roast the pig."

And in "It Seems to Me" Sprague added, "Legislation like this is a product of fear. I have more confidence in the good sense of the teachers of Oregon and in their loyalty than to think we have to challenge them. There is no public demand for the bill. There is no situation in our schools which calls for this as a bar to employment of Communist teachers. The House should keep its feet on the ground and defeat this bill." The House took Sprague's advice. The oath bill died in the lower cham-

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ber. More than one legislator, just setting out on the rough road of politics, was surprised and flattered to be approached personally by a famous editor and former governor. Several college professors told their classes, half in jest, half seriously, that the events at Salem had knocked into the discard their belief that certain historical developments are inevitable, regardless of the efforts of individuals. There seemed to be no doubt that Oregon would have enacted an oath bill had not one particular man been on the scene.

Sprague's choice for President of the United States would probably be Paul G. Hoffman, the president of the Ford Foundation. Perhaps because of his intense interest in the oath fight, he was profoundly impressed by Hoffman's speech on liberty and tolerance at Freedom House a few months ago. His next preference is Eisenhower—with some reservations. He would like to know a good deal more about Ike's views on important domestic problems. He favors Eisenhower because "his nomination would be a renunciation of McCarthyism and MacArthurism." Sprague once gave this friendly warning to the General: "We may expect that if Eisenhower does say he will accept the Republican nomination he will immediately become the target of the pro-Formosa, pro-Chiang, anti-British, anti-Europe entourage whose white knight is Senator Robert A. Taft."

SPRAGUE was governor of Oregon from 1939 to 1943. One of the conspicuous achievements of his administration was the passage of a forestry code in this lumber-producing state. Bills enacted under Sprague's leadership provided that timber operators must leave a certain number of seed trees per acre and that pines of less than a certain circumference could not be felled. Only recently this pioneering legislation has been praised in a significant new book, "American Forest Policy," by Luther Halsey Gulick.

William Allen White wrote in his autobiography that he was strengthened in "the gymnasium of the woods and field and water." Sprague was trained in the same environment, and perhaps more ruggedly than was possible in level Kansas. Most of the peaks of the Pacific Northwest have felt his crampons. Even the 14,000-foot Mount Rainier is among his conquests. Thirty-six miles from the capital city of Oregon, Sprague and his wife own a chalet-like cabin on the Little North Fork of the Santiam River. They built it in 1945 on public land leased from the Department of the Interior. Sprague chops the wood for the fireplace and takes meditative hikes through the fir forests. He reads avidly, his regular fare consisting of *Time*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *The Nation*, *Reader's Digest*, the New York *Times Magazine*, *Harper's*, *U. S. News*, and *Scientific American*.

Sprague also is a reader of the *Congressional Record*, where he finds, he says, many "unwritten stories." He confesses that being in politics was "so engrossing a game that I seldom got into the books or magazines that I needed to make me a well-informed person." And he adds that this may be one of the things wrong with American political life today. "Many of the participants become obsessed with rival personalities and with political animosities. As a result they lose sight of the tremendous impact on mankind of the decisions which they perforce must make."

Sprague's newspaper is partisan. But when he moves from candidates to issues, his party tie shackles him only slightly. No paper in the West encouraged Truman more consistently on the entire MacArthur question than the *Statesman*. Of MacArthur's recent public addresses Sprague has written, "His innuendoes are evidence more of the warping of his own mind than of Truman's malfeasance."

Perhaps because he is comparatively unfettered, Sprague occasionally ends up to the left of the Administration in Washington, which of course has its own groove. He has been chairman of an advisory commission on the administration of extremely valuable federal timber tracts in southwestern Oregon, part of an abandoned railroad land grant. A few months ago certain large and influential lumber companies forced the retirement of the regional director, a young economist named Daniel L. Goldy. Sprague championed Goldy and criticized the Interior Department for succumbing to the companies' pressure.

Sprague would probably return to public life only with considerable reluctance. He relishes the freedom of being a private citizen. He types his own letters, rarely making use of one of the *Statesman's* stenographers. When some Catholics canceled their subscriptions because the paper published news stories and photographs of Paul Blanshard speaking at a Catholic school in Mount Angel, Oregon, Sprague took the calls himself and patiently explained that it was the policy of the *Statesman* to print all the news without exception.

A religious man himself, particularly in a philosophical sense, he feels that disregard of spiritual values has led to a worship of money in the nation. Last Easter he devoted his column to Joseph of Arimathea, who asked Pilate for the body of Jesus. Sprague's own desire to be a free spirit and to decide great questions without fear or prejudice shone through the piece. "Most of us," he said, "are prisoners of our class, our creed, our associations. We tend to conform, adapting ourselves to whatever level we move in. Joseph was one of those rare souls who refused to be such a prisoner. The instinct of human charity broke through the restraints of narrow sectarianism. We might almost say that this Joseph was the first Christian. In a Christendom riven by multitudinous and contentious sects he has left too few descendants."

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Korea and the "New" Japan

BY LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

WHEN the Japanese peace treaty was signed in San Francisco on September 8, some commentators seemed to feel that the pact might affect the Korean situation to the advantage of the United Nations, at least psychologically. Today, more than four months later, the balance of military, diplomatic, and psychological strength in Korea appears broadly unaltered, and the future of the peninsula remains as unclear as before. But in a deeper sense things are not the same. The peace treaty, the subsequent American-Japanese security accord, and the earlier American mutual-defense pacts with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand are all part of the background for the gradual introduction of a rearmed and economically revived Japan as a factor in the Pacific. This will necessarily have repercussions in Korea, whether or not the war continues.

Some day, when more of the facts are known, we may be able to assess the impact of the peace treaty and pacts on the Korean cease-fire discussions. Perhaps the effects were slight, in view of the already numerous obstacles to an armistice, but there is some reason to think that the pact decisions and their execution may have stiffened the negotiators and made the proceedings more tortuous. The various pacts—like so many previous actions and counter-actions of one side or the other—further crystalized existing differences in the Pacific and narrowed the possibilities of compromise. This sharpening of the situation was implicit in the encounters between Gromyko and Acheson at San Francisco and in the public exchange of messages between Stalin and Mao Tse-tung on the eve of the conference, reaffirming the close ties between the two regimes and referring to the military guaranties of the Soviet-Chinese alliance.

Apart from its possible import for the cease-fire negotiations, the peace treaty contains clauses relating to Korea. Under its terms Japan recognizes Korean independence, and Korea—that is, in effect, South Korea—is included among the nations with which Japan expresses willingness to negotiate fisheries and commercial agreements and to which it is to extend most-favored-nation treatment. Japan also promises "to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter. . . ." This clause is important as a reference to Korea, for it commits Japan to continue the aid given the United Nations forces in Korea prior to ratification of the peace treaty. It also furnishes a possible basis for more extensive or more formal Japanese participation in the Korean war at some future date, if the current cease-fire effort should not succeed.

Japan has already played a significant role in the war, not only as the crucial rear base from which the United States and United Nations have operated, but also as a formidable supplier of goods and services. For example, Japan furnished LST crews for the landings at Inchon in September, 1950, and the Japanese have also operated minesweepers off Korea. Most of Japan's help has been in the form of supplies, including machinery, metals, textiles, lumber, and chemicals. Japanese activities have ranged over a wide field, from the repair of damaged weapons and ships to the production of portable bridges, and Japan's metallurgical industries have handled large orders placed by the occupation authorities. From the outbreak of war in June, 1950, through July 29, 1951, American war-procurement orders of goods and services in Japan for the Korean operations totaled $385,000,000, and the July, 1951, figure of $53,000,000 was higher than for any other month up to that point. These orders, which continue to flow in, have created a Japanese war boom linked with Korea.

The prevailing American assumption—tinged with an element of doubt—is that a rearmed and economically revived Japan will serve actively in a Pacific front against communism without embarking on new adventures of its own. But some of the Pacific allies of the United States are less certain of this conclusion, and the recent defense pacts with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand were designed partly to reduce their fears.

The South Korean government has also expressed concern over Japan's future power. Although not invited to sign the San Francisco treaty—on the ground that Korea, as a former Japanese colony, had not been at war with Japan—the Rhee regime commented on the treaty draft last summer. South Korea reportedly asked Washington for the Japanese island of Tsushima lying between Japan and Korea and for a regional security agreement with the United States. It also asked that Japan should not be allowed to arm sufficiently to threaten Korean security. The formula advanced was that Korea and Japan should cooperate equally in Pacific defense. Since South Korea

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LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER has written extensively on conditions in Asia. He is editor and a co-author of "The State of Asia." This is the second article in a symposium on the problems of peace in Korea. Next week Walter Sullivan, New York Times correspondent with the U. N., will describe the reconstruction task that lies ahead.

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was in no position to obtain equality with Japan, this formula was probably in part an effort to strengthen Rhee's bargaining position with Washington and Tokyo. It is clear that, in the midst of more immediate problems, much Korean opinion remains fearful of Japan. This sentiment presumably influenced the official South Korean reaction.

The real nature of Japanese-South Korean relations is suggested by recent conversations in Tokyo between representatives of the two governments. The purpose of the meetings, which began in October under occupation auspices, was to arrange a treaty of peace, amity, and commerce as a basis for the opening of diplomatic relations. The Rhee regime urged speedy discussion of a variety of subjects, but Japan seems to have shown little interest. In fact, the Pusan radio charged Tokyo with a desire to strengthen its position toward Korea by stalling until after the Japanese peace treaty takes effect. One question that is unclear is whether a Korean-Japanese military accord is also intended to result from the Tokyo discussions, which are now in abeyance but are scheduled to resume in February. The South Korean Foreign Minister touched on an aspect of the subject on November 24 when he declared that his government would never permit Japanese soldiers to enter Korea to fight Communists.

At present, of course, Japan can have no power of initiative in Korea, but any government in Tokyo, whether war-minded or peaceful, is certain to be deeply interested in an area so close to Japan. For this reason it may be useful to recall that Japan did not originally swallow Korea at one gulp but absorbed it only after protracted activity. The final act of annexation in 1910 was the product of two successful wars (with China in 1894-95 and with czarist Russia in 1904-05), supplemented by several decades of political intrigue in Korea. The point of these references to the past is not to predict that history will repeat itself but to suggest the importance of viewing a resurgent Japan in terms of decades rather than of the brief, controlled period of the occupation.

A REVIVAL of Japanese economic influence in Asia is involved in the American concept of Japan as the "workshop" of the region. Japan must of course export if it is to live, and Japanese industry can certainly supply much that Asian countries require. But economic influence—for example, in South Korea—could lead to political influence and ultimately to some form of political power. Asian nationalism constitutes a powerful counter-force. But former collaborationists continue to function politically in a number of areas, including South Korea, and it is conceivable that an alignment with a strong, independent Japan in a new "co-prosperity sphere" might seem attractive.

To the extent that Japan revives, it will have an increasingly strong bargaining position in relation to the United States. With more than eighty million people, a massive industry, and traditions of power, it may regard the San Francisco conference as only a small down-payment for its cooperation. This seems all the more possible in view of the weakness of the other Asian allies of the United States, such as the Rhee government, and the demands of the United States for speedy Japanese rearmament.

The conditions that might permit Japan to assume an active role in the Pacific area must be weighed against the many obstacles. The force of Asian nationalism has already been mentioned, and this, of course, includes Korean nationalism in both parts of the divided country. Another obstacle is the continued shakiness of Japan's economy, with the burden of rearmament likely to raise new difficulties. Again, the United States, from which Japan hopes to get more aid, may serve as a check on the disagreeable possibilities in Japanese policy. Whatever may be the ultimate intentions of some of its politicians, Japan is not today the militarized nation of the pre-war period. With respect to the Communist bloc on the continent, its attitude will be influenced by its pressing need for Chinese raw materials and a share of the China market. Japan's leaders and a majority of the people oppose communism, but Communist military power and political influence in Asia are important realities that Japan, with its exposed geographical position and memories of defeat, is likely to bear in mind.

The probability that for the present Japan will be circumspect in its foreign policy—to the extent that control is restored to Japanese hands—was underlined by the decision in Washington not to submit the peace treaty to the Senate in the last session of Congress, but to wait until the 1952 session. It is interesting to note the chief reason given for the State Department's action—the belief that if the cease-fire negotiations failed, the needs of a new Korean campaign would be better met by a Japan that remained an Allied base, as at present, than by a Japan that was, in the words of a New York *Times* correspondent, "a newly independent state struggling to regain her bearings."

In short, the ultimate effect on Korea of the Japanese settlement and the trend toward a Pacific pact is a matter of speculation. The peace and security treaties sharpen existing alignments in the Pacific but are at present no more than declarations of intention still to be carried out. In the long run Japan's leaders may be able to acquire new influence in the East, including Korea. Their opportunities for potentially dangerous activities, however, would be reduced by an early Korean peace, especially if this led to an adjustment of other outstanding issues in Asia.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

HENRY ADAMS
The Mind and the Man

BY ELIZABETH STEVENSON

WHO reads letters now? Who writes them even? Yet for amusement, and for learning something about another time in the very atmosphere of that time's gossip, they cannot be surpassed. They beat histories, biographies, and novels for the acuteness of mood or tone. Farrar, Straus, and Young deserve thanks for the Great Letters Series. The third volume, following Keats and Cowper, is a selection by Newton Arvin from Henry Adams's previously published letters.* Here, in this sampling of his social rather than philosophic mind, is a good introduction to him.

The book is organized for the pleasures of reading. The letters are divided into five periods of Adams's life, each section headed by the editor's brief outline of the man's activities during that period. A list of identifications clarifies personal references.

An introductory essay by Newton Arvin summarizes Adams's life in such a way as to help break up the stereotyped image which continues to pass current as the truth about Henry Adams, having appeared recently in its most hackneyed form in "The Magnificent Yankee," in which "Mr. Adams" was a straw figure knocked over at regular intervals to enhance Wendell Holmes—a doubtful service to that robust democrat.

Arvin presents Adams more as an observer than as a prophet. He stresses the variety of his interests and the warmth of his sympathies rather than the blackness of his demonic insights. He shows him off as a letter-writer akin somehow to the very different Horace Walpole—a likeness Adams himself noticed. He exhibits him as the good traveler, enduring hardships when away from home with amazing cheerfulness and nonchalance to search out scenes which affected his imagination. And in judging some of the crotchets which afflicted Adams and make him difficult to resolve into a harmonious personality, Arvin shows acuteness. He suggests succinctly how personal tragedy could affect historical judgment. He indicates, too, the gradualness of the growth of Adams's pessimism, that slow process by which "Henry Adams moved from the great Unitarian synthesis of his fathers—from its pure, cold, arid, eighteenth-century rationality and optimism—to the mechanistic catastrophism with which he ended."

There are gaps and muffled transitions in the selection of the letters, since the book is a concentrated dose of the character, taste, intellect, prejudice of a man rather than a record of a whole life. The interesting Berlin episode of his youth is omitted. So also is the death of his sister Louisa, that first taste he had of irreconcilable evil. Left out is the crucial trip to Cuba in 1893 with Clarence King. Left out, the pleasing coda to his life—the hunting for and finding of twelfth-century songs in Paris.

Personal as the letters are, seeming to be good, spontaneous, unguarded talk, they do not contain all of Henry Adams. He was very shy of self-revelation. Some of it came out, disguised, in the novels, biographies, and "History." He could be more naked, for instance in "Esther" than in the first-person books, "Mont-St.-Michel" and "The Education." "Democracy" is his political ordeal; "Esther," his own, as well as his wife's, religious plight. And where one might least expect to find it, in the heavily documented, nine-volume "History of the United States," there are passages of lyrical intensity which tell as much about the subjective Henry Adams as any of these letters. One could trace his description of the New England privateers, lightly and dangerously rigged, from the "History" to "Esther," where it turns up again, this time as an image for the character of his heroine, and by private reference an image of his wife, Marian Adams.

But by presenting a fresh culling of letters Arvin has pulled Adams out of the portentous shadows. He has made it easy to listen to him. Reading the letters is like hearing his talk: bold, careless, but cutting to the center of things. "Havana is a gay ruin," he said, catching an essence in two words. "An engine house at night with two or three engines letting off steam and showing headlights" was the sight of a volcano at night in Hawaii. His friend, La Farge, was "a spectacled and animated prism." Stevenson, whom he could not like, was "an insane stork." Theodore Roosevelt, on a day when Adams was out of sorts with him—"a bore as big as a buffalo." The letters have the value of white-hot emotions expressed in picturesque, uninhibited language.

As Arvin says, he was "an ideologue touched with the poetic sense." He was a forever working mind. It is particularly exciting in these letters to see his historical imagination at work. Wherever he could find raw material for this special sense, he would swoop down and point out the connection never before seen; the conclusion never before reached; causes, consequences, and by-products; all expressed with living urgency. The past, in person or scene, seems to have just happened, or to be happening as one reads his works. He spoke, always, of Jefferson as if he had known him personally. He loved Albert Gallatin like a brother. He detested Napoleon. And his distrust of Alexander Hamilton was an intimate dislike.

Places no more than persons could escape his transforming eye. He settled in Washington when it still resembled, as he said, a happy village; yet he saw its future greatness and power. He visited Granada. All he could see there was its past; the fifteenth century surrounded him. In Samoa, "I felt as though I had got back to Homer's time, and were cruising about on the Aegean with Ajax."

He personified Tahiti and all Tahitian history in one image: "I don't mean that the place is gloomy, but just quietly sad, as though it were a very

* "The Selected Letters of Henry Adams." Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. $3.50.

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pretty woman who had got through her fun and her troubles, and grown old, and was just amusing herself by looking on, without caring much what happens. She has retired a long way out of the world, and sees only her particular friends, like me, with the highest introductions; but she dresses well, and her jewels are superb. In private I suspect she is given to crying because she feels so solitary."

In December, 1891, Henry Adams went to the opera in Paris one evening and recorded the experience in a letter to Elizabeth Cameron, to whom he could always write what meant most to him. A hundred years before, his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, had gone to hear a performance of the same opera. He had liked the opera, been haunted by its music, and had come to associate one song, a lament for the abandoned Richard, with his own abandonment by the people in the election of 1828. He wrote down this connection in his journal, with which Henry was familiar.

When Henry, in Paris, went to the revival of this old Grétry opera, he was charmed by the music, and also surrounded by associations. First, he put himself in the person of his grandfather; then he himself, in his own person, was there in that other time, listening to "Richard." "You know," he said to Mrs. Cameron, "what an awfully handsome young fellow Copley made me—with full dress and powdered hair, talking to Mme Chose in the boxes, and stopping to applaud *'Un regard de ma belle.'*"

He had projected himself, through his imagination, into the past; or rather, he had extended the experience of his grandfather into his own life. The trait is illustrative. This intensity of imagination characterized his day-to-day observations. It is this imagination, buttressed by scholarship, which characterizes all his work: his "History," his biographies, the "Mont-St.-Michel," and "The Education." They are works constructed essentially by the shaping art. Such a passage tossed off carelessly to a far-off correspondent who might enjoy the reference exhibits the very generation of ideas.

The mind at work and the material on which it worked: both are here in the letters. The man and his time: the time presented with the flavor of bias; the man holding back something of himself, yet letting go intimacies he hardly knew he had revealed. If the letters do not have the high pitch and concentration of the books, if they do not show one the intensest Adams, at least they show the basis of development—the raw material from which he shaped the few great works that keep him an honorable thorn in the flesh of over-easy American optimism.

The books are products; the letters, process. But besides exhibiting an interesting mind forming itself, they deserve to be read for themselves. They are amusing in the best way—that is, seriously. They have depth of insight, but at the same time are witty, even about disaster. The great stretch of American history from the Civil War to the First World War had few such observers as Henry Adams. And apparently his pertinence is just beginning. We are more his contemporaries than his own correspondents were. It is as if he were writing his letters to us.

Mr. Acheson Defended

THE PATTERN OF RESPONSIBILITY. Edited by McGeorge Bundy from the Record of Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

IF HUMANITY—and more particularly the American people in an election year—were ruled by sweet reason, the publication of McGeorge Bundy's volume of selections from the public utterances of Dean Acheson might well settle forever the controversy over the merits and fitness for high office of the present Secretary of State. The selections are well chosen, the accompanying commentary is judicious and good-tempered—after reading them, no honest-minded citizen could fail to be convinced that virtually all the charges customarily advanced against Mr. Acheson are groundless. In presenting, chiefly in the Secretary's own words, a most able brief for the defense, Mr. Bundy has performed an essential public service. The record has now been put straight: the case should be closed.

Yet that is not quite the whole story. Besides the fact that the book has appeared rather late—corruption has replaced communism as the most promising pre-election issue, and the force of the opposition attack has shifted from the Department of State to the domestic failings of the Administration—one may question whether the bulk of Mr. Acheson's enemies are really interested in learning the truth. Essentially their opposition boils down to two things—a conviction that accusing one's political adversaries of "softness" to communism is good politics, and a profound personal dislike. Of the two, the latter is perhaps the more important. For the things about Mr. Acheson that drive his opponents to fury—his intellectual attainments, his good manners, his meticulous speech, and his uncompromising ethical standards, in a word, his personal superiority—are not likely to change. They are the essence of the man. By their mere existence they make nearly all the rest of Washington's political population look puny. And the fact that Mr. Bundy demonstrates the same qualities, that he comes from the same social and intellectual background, may hinder rather than assist him in his task of counsel for the defense.

Hence this reviewer for one regrets that Mr. Bundy should have felt obliged to direct his book primarily at the mass of Acheson-haters. The criticism, I grant, is eccentric and bears no relation to the realities either of politics or of the publishing business. Yet it is only honest to state that as I read on in Mr. Bundy's book, I became increasingly depressed. It seemed to me that both the author and his protagonist were tending to descend to a commonplace level of argument. They were not meeting the attack on ground they had chosen themselves but were simply rebutting a series of vulgar and frequently dishonest charges. It is disheartening—and a grim reflection on the state of American public life today—to hear Mr. Acheson defending his department before a group of newspaper editors in terms reminiscent of a football rally. And particularly so when this selection follows one totally different in character—a lofty, closely reasoned statement of his position on the Hiss case—which indicates what the Secretary is like when he permits himself to follow his true instincts.

And the same is true of Mr. Bundy. The preface—the only part of the book in which the author fully reveals his

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own personal attitude—is actually its best part. It is forthright, admirably reasoned, and independent—particularly in the passages in which Mr. Bundy lists his few but significant disagreements with Mr. Acheson. But the rest of the book does not maintain the same level. In the running commentary that connects the selections from the Secretary himself the tone is too cautious and "official," the style is too bland, and too many crucial questions are skirted or omitted altogether.

Hence to Mr. Acheson's friends and well-wishers—and the present reviewer counts himself among the latter—Mr. Bundy's book makes rather strange reading. We are told all the things that we know already, we hear lengthy, sometimes tedious, answers to charges in which we have never believed, but our real questions remain unanswered. We do not get any further light on the things that have been troubling us about the public record of a Secretary whom we greatly admire. We find no comment, for example, on Mr. Acheson's personal limitations in dealing with Europeans—no reflection of the fact that while his technical preparation within the Department of State is beyond compare, his foreign experience has been extremely limited. (A man who thoroughly understood the skeptical, highly critical realism of a European—or, indeed, of an Asian—would not say as flat-footedly as he does that the United States has no satellites "whose votes we control." Nor would he speak so confidently of the possibility of organizing "truly independent national regimes" in Eastern Europe.) Some of these statements, of course, may be largely for the record, but if there is any difference between the Secretary in private and the Secretary in public, it does not pierce through Mr. Bundy's commentary. And when we come to the latter's statement that the American refusal to recognize Communist China or to vote for its admission to the United Nations was simply due to China's failure to meet "basic standards of international behavior," we really begin to wonder who's fooling whom.

Mr. Bundy frankly recognizes that Secretary Acheson's Far Eastern policy changed after the outbreak of the Korean war, and more particularly after the Chinese intervention. But the most dramatic (and to my mind, least justifiable) aspect of that change—the decision to strengthen Chiang's forces on Formosa with arms and an American military mission—appears nowhere in the record as Mr. Bundy lines it up. Nor is there any hint that at least part of this change may have been a weary concession to merciless needling by the Secretary's critics. (Mr. Acheson, after all, during the greater part of his secretaryship, has been fighting for his political life.) And the same consideration applies to the chapter on "security and loyalty in the Department of State." We find no discussion of whether or not Mr. Acheson has occasionally allowed a man under suspicion to be thrown to the wolves—of why, for example, John Carter Vincent was demoted from Berne to Tangier with a cloud hanging over his name and no adequate opportunity to clear it.

But let none of the foregoing be misunderstood. It simply reflects the dissatisfaction of a questioning reader: it is not intended to cast doubt on the record of a great Secretary of State, and one, furthermore, whose actions have more frequently proved to be "right" than those of almost anyone else around these days. Mr. Acheson has suffered political martyrdom: his public career is a living illustration of his own warning that "evil" and "degradation" follow when "shrewd men . . . play on the minds and loyalties and fears of their fellows." It is good that Mr. Bundy has set the record straight. And it is also good to know that in the Republican Party—of which Mr. Bundy, surprisingly enough, is a loyal member—there are men of his intelligence, political independence, and breadth of human understanding.

H. STUART HUGHES

Coaches and Coronets

OUIDA. By Eileen Bigland. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.75.

IN EVERY epoch since the widespread distribution of books, there has emerged a genre of writing—fiction, usually—which lies somewhere between the serious literature at the center and the masses of record and mere newsprint at the periphery. Its products are distinguished by a common subject matter rather than any individual quality, and since they exist in response to some deep social or psychological hunger, they enjoy an extravagant range and intensity of appeal. Thus the Gothic romance, with its possessed, irrational hero and its haunting threat of the unknown in human experience, came as a relief to the eighteenth century's insistence on the all-sufficiency of reason and consciousness. A hundred years later the detective story, with its omniscient hero who always knew the answer, imparted authority and security to a generation of readers becoming less and less sure of everything it had taken for granted. Similarly, the rapidly urbanizing America before World War I found in an idealized cowboy and his wide-open spaces a nostalgia-image for the freedom it had lost; and today, when the earth gets smaller in every morning's paper, science fiction has emerged to describe new worlds to get away to.

A century ago, when British society was still a three-layer cake of dukes, business men, and chambermaids, the romance of high life was born. There had always been memoirs by persons of quality, but they concealed more than they revealed, and though Disraeli's novels were the first to deal familiarly with the private lives of peers, they were relatively discreet. It took the young lady who wore her hair like Alice in Wonderland and called herself Ouida to give the lending-library world what it was really waiting for. Her first story was called "Dashwood's Drag,"

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and was published when she was twenty. It was instantly popular, and its successors went on appearing for the next forty years. If Ouida's portrait of life among the coaches and coronets was less than documentary, if Kensington Gore and Belgravia had never known such recklessly gaming younger sons or lustrously evil countesses as hers, no matter. It was enough that in the pages of "Strathmore," "Under Two Flags," and "The Two Viscounts," the world at large could finally find out the wardrobe details of a duke's daughter, what a guardsman's dressing table looked like, and best of all, to what shockingly headstrong ends a titled head would go to get what it wanted.

So Ouida was read by millions, and with the fortune she made before she was thirty, she set up her notorious salon at the Langham Hotel. Here, surrounded by hot-house flowers, Longfellow, dozens of dogs, gold-braided guardsmen—who *smoked* in her presence—and as much blue blood as she could lure, she became not only the scandal of London but a figure more fantastic than any in her books. "Ouida in green silk, sinister, clever face, hair down, voice like a carving knife," said William Allingham; *"elle était toujours affreuse,"* said the Duc de Dion; "curious, uppish, a little terrible, and pathetically grotesque," said Henry James. In her later years she settled in Italy, where her inane lawsuits—if her dog bit you, she sued—her shameless pursuit of royalty, and her lavish receptions kept her the rarest eccentric in Florentine society for decades, and where finally, in 1908, she died in poverty.

Theatrical, megalomaniac, entirely unrestrained by any self-knowledge, Ouida could not be the subject of a dull biography. Miss Bigland's is lively and full of detail, and if it tends to gush and fictionalize a little too much, this is not inappropriate in connection with its subject. Properly, the novels are treated only in relation to their author's career, though in a prefatory note Miss Bigland does protest the influence of her heroine on not only Firbank and Edith Wharton but Galsworthy, Dreiser, and even D. H. Lawrence. This is surely, affectionate and harmless as it is, playing that parlor game called Tradition and Individual Talent a little too earnestly.

ROBERT PHELPS

Year's End

THE GOOD SOLDIER. By Ford Madox Ford. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

AEOLIA. By Ilias Venezis. Translated by E. D. Scott-Kilvert. The University of Denver Press. $2.75.

FANCIES AND GOODNIGHTS. By John Collier. Doubleday and Company. $4.

BEST STORIES FROM NEW WRITING. Selected and with an introduction by John Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

MR. BELUNCLE. By V. S. Pritchett. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

VOYAGE TO WINDWARD: THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. By J. C. Furnas. William Sloane Associates. $5.

KATHERINE MANSFIELD'S LETTERS TO JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.50.

SEVERAL of last year's books, important or generally assumed to be important, have not, so far, been mentioned in these columns. They demand a closer examination than it is now possible to give them, but they should be commented on, if only in brief.

Ford Madox Ford's "The Good Soldier" was first published in 1915. Ford thought well of it: "I have always regarded this as my best book—at any rate as the best book of mine of a pre-war period." One of his friends remarked, acutely, referring to its tight structure and careful organization: "It is the finest French novel in the English language." It is not about soldiering, but scrutinizes the complicated relationships within a quartet composed of a wealthy American couple and an only slightly less wealthy English couple as they move from watering-place to watering-place in what now seems the halcyon Europe of the decade before 1914. It lacks the scope and the passion of the Tietjens series, in part because Ford's concern with form requires that the narrator be a rather imperceptive man to whom the moral horrors which surround him become only slowly apparent. Yet it is more satisfying than most contemporary fiction. Ford took his art seriously, and his seriousness shows, though it never oppresses.

According to Lawrence Durrell's note to "Aeolia," the Greeks consider Venezis one of their two greatest contemporary novelists. "Aeolia" is no novel but a charming series of childhood recollections of life in Anatolia before the Greek diaspora of 1914. These sketches do recapture a vanished and complex agrarian society in which—the sense of this fact is one of the delights of the book—myth and magic were as important in daily life as crops and the weather. The last scenes, when the author's family abandons its farm just before the Turks arrive, achieve a real pathos from which most writers today would shrink.

One should not read John Collier's omnibus of forty-nine short stories, "Fancies and Goodnights," all at once. What the jacket calls "these weird and fantastic" tales must be taken at widely separated intervals. Then one may not notice that even those which once seemed admirable are confections relying on the merely grotesque or macabre for subject matter and on new twists to the trick ending for plot. Their cleverness is overwhelming.

In contrast, the stories selected from the fifteen years of John Lehmann's English periodical, *New Writing,* bear rereading very well. They have great variety. Christopher Isherwood is represented by The Nowaks (one of "The Berlin Stories"); George Orwell by a fine fragment of autobiography, at once symbolic and first-rate reporting, Shooting an Elephant; and Rosamond Lehmann by a deft period-piece, The Red-haired Miss Daintreys. The contributions of Elizabeth Bowen, William Sansom, James Stern, and Denton Welch are all very good, though not as good as other stories they have written. And there are stories by seventeen additional "new" writers which are always more than competent, avoiding the contemporary American evils of slickness and the recording of simple sensitiveness.

Since I admire V. S. Pritchett's remarks on fiction, I wish I could admire his novel. "Mr. Beluncle" is an amusing full-length portrait of a rascal, a get-rich-quick operator of the London suburbs. It is beautifully written; the characters come fully to life. Numerous signs indicate, however, that it is meant to transcend these excellences. Indeed, they obtrude themselves. Yet it is difficult to tell what "meaning" the book is supposed to have. An anonymous

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reviewer in the London *Times Literary Supplement,* surveying all Pritchett's novels, suggested that each one gives the sense of a design or a purpose abandoned or forgotten halfway through. This judgment applies admirably to "Mr. Beluncle."

"Voyage to Windward," J. C. Furnas's long life of Robert Louis Stevenson, has every appearance—new material, full detail, the extirpation of ancient heresy—of a standard biography. Unfortunately it is written in a slightly old-fashioned and windy journalese. The facts about Stevenson and Mr. Furnas's seemingly excellent and fair assessment of them must be approached through sentences and diction which constantly offend the eye and ear.

I find it impossible to read all 701 closely printed pages of Katherine Mansfield's letters to John Middleton Murry. When Mr. Murry first edited these letters in 1928 he abridged some and omitted others; he also included many letters to other people. Now we have her letters to him, complete and unrelieved. Their relationship, with its many rejections, reversals, and resumptions, is presented in all available detail, from her side, at least. Readers enamored of the quarrels and calamities of authors will like this book. It *is* first-rate in the snatches—sometimes only a sentence or two—when Katherine Mansfield was not worrying about the state of her soul or about how she felt or did not feel toward Murry. An old woman, a summer night, a fall of rain—these she could turn into a series of lovely fragments delightful to contemplate. Her sensibility brought something new to English writing, though I doubt that she was as important an artist as the editorial comment assumes. But the rest, that is, roughly, three-quarters of the book, is painful without any of the expected rewards of pain. Even if one reminds oneself regularly that Katherine Mansfield was often a sick women, the epistolary "scenes," the long-drawn-out analyses of feelings which are often not clearly understood despite the clarity with which they are stated, the chronicle of a life which was largely a pilgrimage to some shrine impossible of access grow, in short time, embarrassing, then annoying, and then tedious.

ERNEST JONES

A Precious Brew

JAPAN IN WORLD HISTORY. By G. B. Sansom. Institute of Pacific Relations. $2.

THE Japanese have an expression, *nani mo gozaimasen ga,* which loosely translated means something like "I haven't anything at all to offer you and what I have is awful stuff, but"—please eat heartily, drink my beer, take over my house, etc., etc. To a people steeped in the lore of super-salesmanship this is ridiculous. Who will drink your beer if you tell him it is no good?

Since "Japan in World History," a composite of lectures delivered by Sir George Sansom in Japan, is saturated with the psychology of *nani mo gozaimasen ga,* it will not appeal to an American audience. The usual reaction will be, I think, "Well, this is certainly not Sansom at his best." Admirers of the fluent style, the deft touches of humor, the bold and sweeping intelligence characteristic of the author's "Japan: A Short Cultural History" and "The Western World and Japan" will be disappointed. They will find this book rambling, repetitious, sometimes unconvincing. They will be annoyed by the excessive humility: "I have no right . . . to pose as an authority on Japanese history. . . . We [foreigners] must think ourselves fortunate if Japanese historians will take the trouble to instruct us . . ."; "I ask your pardon"; "[my] rambling observations"; "these crude reflections." They may even be offended by an "excusing" of Japanese past blunders—for example, Yamagata's institution of the evil practice of reserving the posts of War and Navy Ministers to officers on the active list.

Nevertheless, this book provides us an opportunity to observe in action a man who knows Japan and the Japanese as few Westerners know them, making a contribution—very small, he would say—to the restoration of good relations between Japan and the West. He emphasizes as particularly important in this task the building of individual freedom, liberal scholarship, and general tolerance in Japan, in whose defense the Japanese failed so miserably during the 1930's.

His way of doing this is most interesting, and surely discomfiting to those who have advocated and practiced "high-pressure" methods of "reeducating" the Japanese. For there is no high pressure in Sansom. He is no high priest of democracy pontificating virtue to those who failed. As an Englishman he admits to citizenship in a country with a long democratic tradition, but he refuses to be smug on this score. Western democracy, he feels, owes as much to luck as to wisdom. "Quarrelsome, violent, disorderly people," goaded by food shortages out of feudalism into capitalism and trade, unable to organize themselves because neither king nor barons nor clergy nor merchants proved strong enough to impose one will on an entire country, finally arrived at a "defective and partial tolerance," "the only hope of understanding between nations as between persons."

The Japanese, not being so peculiar or so isolated as Westerners have thought, came a long way in this direction. That they did not come farther may be due more to their strengths than to their weaknesses—a prevailing sense of duty, the lack of religious strife, no desperate need for trade, the "miracle" of Tokugawa order and discipline. At any rate it was not due to any lack of political sense or capacity or virtue in the Japanese people. Sir George finds

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no people better fitted for "cultivating the arts of peace," endowed as they are with courage, determination, industry, a high regard for duty, and a strong aesthetic sense. "The great tradition of humanism is not a monopoly of Western thought." Obviously totalitarianism—or democracy—could have happened anywhere, to any people.

Thus does Sir George Sansom, without arrogance or insult, hand his Japanese audience the cup of freedom and tolerance and ask them to drink deeply. They should understand, even if Americans do not, that this brew is precious in inverse ratio to the humility with which it is presented.

HILARY CONROY

Books in Brief

THE WORLDLY MUSE, AN ANTHOLOGY OF SERIOUS LIGHT VERSE. Edited by A. J. M. Smith. Abelard Press. $3.50. Mr. Smith, not as well known as he ought to be this side of his native Canadian border, is a bright gay poet who has here brought together many different kinds of bright gay pieces to form an altogether delightful anthology. Too bad this one could not have had a little more pre-Christmas publicity. Hardly to be recommended as Lenten fare, but comes the springtime and a few friends having birthdays, you could hardly find a happier present; it would also be a very good gift for yourself, any time.

NORTH WITH THE SPRING. By Edwin Way Teale. Dodd, Mead. $5. Mr. Teale, well known as a writer and naturalist, here describes how he realized a common dream: following the spring from Florida northward to the timber line. A strenuous man as well as a lively and exceptionally well-informed one, he made a journey of seventeen thousand miles, and took the trouble to climb mountains, penetrate swamps, and talk with natives all along the way. He tells us informally about what he saw, and being versed in the whole field of natural history, he is always ready with the facts or the parallels which will explain what everything means. Anyone planning such a trip will find him an indispensable guide, and for those of us who cannot go an imaginary trip in his company is the next best thing. Birds, beasts, plants, and insects are duly noted, as well as those grand features of the landscape which are all the ordinary traveler is aware of. Like Thoreau, Mr. Teale is always amazed to discover "how much is going on" in any field or wood. There are also expert photographs by the author.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

VERY few attempts have been made to revive the plays of Eugene O'Neill on Broadway. Many of them were commercially successful as well as highly esteemed, but there has always been a minority which refused to admit that O'Neill's virtues were genuine or that they would long seem so.

The company at the City Center has now opened the question with a first-rate production of "Anna Christie," and the result is strong evidence on the side of those who have sturdily maintained O'Neill's claim to be, of all American playwrights, the one most likely to last. In the *Times* Mr. Atkinson remarked that though this particular play is perhaps not its author's best, it is certainly better than any new play current. This is an obvious fact, and, what is possibly more important, a capacity audience was delighted with it.

There is of course an unimportant sense in which every old play—even a classic—is "dated." In that sense Aeschylus and Shakespeare are "dated." Their techniques are no longer currently practiced; they reflect once current intellectual and emotional preoccupations where the emphasis is not quite ours. In fact, a classic might be defined as a work of art which has become superficially dated while remaining essentially valid. The important thing is that its conformity to a mode should be only an incidental rather than a fundamental cause of its original popularity. And that proves to be precisely the case with "Anna Christie." If it had been written today by a playwright of O'Neill's gifts it would not be precisely what it is. Thirty years ago tales dealing with the dregs of society were coming into fashion. A heroine who had served her time in a bawdy house seemed a more romantic and possibly a more significant figure than she would seem today. Yet in watching a performance of this particular play one is hardly aware of this aspect of it. It is simply an absorbing tale and genuinely "strong," not merely something which seemed so because it was the sort of thing called "strong" at a particular time.

The present production is excellent not merely in the playing of the individual parts but in its whole conception. The very fact that O'Neill's plays are full of violent emotions directly presented always tempts to overplaying, and the temptation is probably even harder to resist in the case of a revival which may seem to present the problem of "putting over" a dated play. Wisely, this production is subdued rather than overemphasized, and the result is to give full effectiveness to the strong colors of the script itself. Celeste Holm gives a quiet, relaxed performance of Anna; Art Smith, a very effective one in the difficult role of her father; Kevin McCarthy, a really outstanding interpretation of Mat Burke, the flamboyant Irish "playboy of the Western world" who finds himself called upon to face a near-tragic dilemma. It is no secret that O'Neill's dialogue is his weakest point and that it is sometimes difficult to make it seem convincing as real speech, but I have seldom seen any production of any of his plays which succeeded better in making that dialogue fit the mouths of the characters who speak it.

As one watches the play unfold again one realizes clearly enough both why it was one of the most popular of its author's works and why he himself always resented the fact. What he obviously wanted to write was a tragedy about the sea as one embodiment of the irrational force to which the most imposing human beings fall possessed and willing victims. What happens is that the simpler story of a man's relation to a woman takes over. It is in this man and this woman, not in the metaphysical idea, that the audience becomes interested. The father's last denunciation of the sea passes almost unnoticed because Anna and Mat have become reconciled. Thus what was intended as a mystical tragedy becomes a love story with a happy ending. In other words, "Anna Christie" is a lesser work than

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O'Neill wanted to write, but it is also one which probably pleases its audiences better. Perhaps these audiences are right as well as wrong.

"PAL JOEY" in revival has been dressed up with dance numbers and elaborate settings, but the additions are appropriate as well as smart and the basic line has not been changed. Vivienne Segal plays the part again of the older woman. She is the star of the show, and her singing of "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered" is as good as ever. So is the song. Helen Gallagher as Gladys the night-club girl is the second star. Harold Lang dances his part well, but he is simply not Pal Joey. Though he tries hard he never loses the air of the male ingenue, the innocent, well-brought-up youth who strives to please. I'm afraid a real Pal Joey would look upon this impersonation with a quizzical and irreverent eye. *M. M.*

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

BACH'S St. John Passion is beautifully sung by the Robert Shaw Chorale, Collegiate Chorale, and soloists conducted by Shaw (RCA Victor). The performance is reproduced not only with beauty of sound but with admirable balance and clarity, except in one instance where the chorus can't be heard clearly behind the solo bass. I question Shaw's reason for using English instead of German: neither for all the singers nor for all the listeners is this a performance "to affirm and quicken a faith," requiring that the story be "carried in the living language of the singer and listener" (and does the use of Latin make the Mass less effective in affirming and quickening the faith of Catholics?). Also, as a mere lay listener I find myself questioning a few details of the performance—the solemnity of Pilate's "Behold the man!", the driving tempos of some of the chorales. And as a mere lay listener I am as usual moved not by the arias (except "Es ist vollbracht") but by the recitative and arioso passages, and most of all by the choral portions—especially the magnificent opening chorus and the chorales.

Bach's Cantata "Ein' feste Burg"

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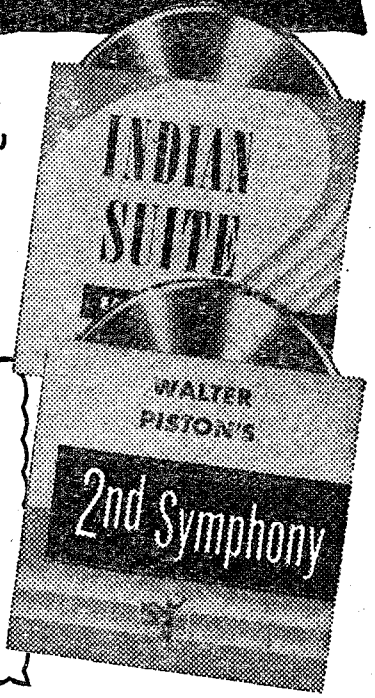

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(Bach Guild) also has impressive choral passages, including another magnificent opening chorus, and in addition an engaging soprano aria. His Easter Oratorio (Bach Guild) has a buoyant and radiant opening Sinfonia and closing chorus and a good Adagio for oboe and strings, but longer stretches of uninteresting solo singing. The performances of these works by the Vienna Akademiechor, soloists, and a chamber orchestra under Prohaska's direction are excellent.

After the beautiful music by Vivaldi that I know the unfamiliar oratorio "Juditha Triumphans" (Period) is disappointingly uninteresting; but there is more interesting life in his "Dixit" (Period). Both works are excellently performed by Italian soloists, chorus, and orchestra under Angelo Ephrikian's direction.

The same musicians give us equally good performances of a group of fine pieces by Monteverdi: "Laudate Dominum," "Ut Queant," "Beatus Vir," and an unidentified work that follows "Beatus Vir" (Period).

Another disappointment to me is the group of Purcell works—"Te Deum," "Bell Anthem," "Jubilate" in D, and "Oh Sing Unto the Lord"—that are not made more attractive by the Purcell Performing Society of Cleveland directed by John Reymes King (Allegro). A sustained organ note between the words "His pasture" and "O go your way" in the "Jubilate" seems incorrect.

The same group—whose members are not good enough for solo singing, but sound better together except for the shrillness of the sopranos—is heard on a record, Sacred Music of the Seventeenth Century (Allegro), in several beautiful pieces by Orlando Gibbons, a few moderately interesting ones by Matthew Locke, and some uninteresting ones by Peter Philips.

Byrd's Mass for five voices (Allegro) is lovely, though less impressively so than the one for four voices that I reported on last year. Perhaps the difference is in the less lovely vocal sound produced by the Nonesuch Singers of Bristol, England, under Roland Dale Smith's direction—the sopranos being shrill. On the same record are a few pieces of Byrd's keyboard music, most of them not very interesting, and played by John Reymes King on the organ, which doesn't seem to be the best instrument for the purpose.

On another record, Choral Masterpieces of the Renaissance (Period), the Nonesuch Singers sing two fine sacred pieces by Victoria and a couple of less interesting ones by Josquin; the French Circle Choir of Bristol, a good chorus directed by P. R. Banham, sings a few charming French secular pieces; and the Open Score Society, a chorus of men and boys that is good except for the altos, is directed by Francis Cameron in a beautiful sacred piece by Byrd, a couple of good ones by Farrant, a couple by Gibbons that are fair, and an uninteresting one by Redford.

Victoria's Masses "Quam Gloriosum" and "O Magnum Mysterium," of which the first is the more impressive, are sung by the Welch Chorale, whose sopranos are not good (Allegro).

I would skip Buxtehude's Missa Brevis and other pieces, the singing of the Hastings Chorale whose sopranos are shrill and tenors are coarse, and recording which produces a strong hum (Allegro).

Benjamin Britten's early "Te Deum," sung by the Washington Cathedral Choir of men and boys, and his later Hymn to St. Cecilia, sung by the Chamber Chorus of Washington, are more engaging than his Ceremony of Carols, sung by the boys of the Washington Cathedral Choir (WCFM). The solo boy soprano voices are not agreeable; otherwise the singing under Paul Callaway's direction is good.

A mere listener like myself to a work like Alban Berg's "Der Wein" can say only, as I did in my review, that the performance *seems* good. It takes someone like the reader who has written me about that statement to feel able to assure me "that the performance of 'Der Wein' is quite bad. I know the work intimately, have analyzed it, and have followed the recording several times with the score. As in Janssen's recording of the Suite from 'Wozzeck,' a great many points fail to come through clearly which are important for the music to make any kind of sense; there is pointless editing (as in the 'Wozzeck' recording, where some thirteen measures of the last section are missing); and Miss Boerner manages to sing the correct notes of the opening phrase, but from there on it is catch-as-catch-can to the point of singing wrong words (*seinen* for *meinen*, etc., etc.)." My correspondent, a composer who is a practitioner of the twelve-tone technique, also comments on Alfred Frankenstein's explanation of the twelve-tone-row procedure of Berg's piece, which I found insufficient, and his analysis of its structure, which I found questionable, contending that they "can be little else, since Frankenstein's lecture is based not upon his own observations of what is actually taking place in the music, but upon René Leibowitz's 'questionable' and 'insufficient' books." As for the music itself, in which I found no expressive relation to the words, my correspondent, an admirer of Berg's powers and certain of his works, thinks "Der Wein" is "dull and completely unsuited to the text and the medium."

CONTRIBUTORS

ELIZABETH STEVENSON is the author of the "The Crooked Corridor: A Study of Henry James" and is now at work on a biography of Henry Adams.

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Letters to the Editors

Progressive Education Condemned

Dear Sirs: In commenting on your recent series Battle for Free Schools, I should like to point out that, like many other issues of the day, that of "progressive education" suffers from clear-cut definitions and postulations. . . . In discussions with teacher colleagues, who consider themselves champions of "modern education" or "progressive education" I am cavalierly assured that the Activity Program as now practiced is not really *the* Activity Program; that when they, the progressives, speak of the Core Curriculum, they do not mean the "thing" which is now masquerading as such; that we do not now have in our schools an even reasonable facsimile of what they intended.

In this manner the proponents of progressivism have made themselves invulnerable. The weaknesses revealed in the implementation of their program are attributed to forced deviation from the ideal, while the good points arise in spite of conservative teachers and inadequate supplies.

Let there be no mistake about it. I am very much concerned with a professional problem. If, as some of the progressives charge, criticism of their program plays into the hands of the enemies of the public school, we have to take this calculated risk. It is more important to have a sound educational program than to present a united front to the enemy.

The heart of the progressive doctrine is "Consider the whole child." However, as long as this ideal means all things to all teachers, we will continue to have perfect agreement on the desirability of change, but little or no agreement on the direction of change.

We, of the "traditional" camp, postulate the indispensability of the fundamental skills. Without the essential learning tools the child is helpless and compromised, and the boast of "keeping him happy" becomes a grim joke. It seems gratuitous to state that no one objects to a well-integrated child enjoying his learning experiences. The traditional teacher might be characterized as one who insists the schools exist primarily for learning. To the best of his ability he makes the learning experiences happy ones. The "modern" teacher, on the other hand, is willing to sacrifice learning to keep the child well-integrated and happy (sometimes with the consoling thought that learning may come later). Here I too am guilty of oversimplification, but obviously I cannot develop the full thesis in this letter.

Unless and until the progressives can successfully integrate the fundamental skills into their program, the program is educationally unsound. I am aware that some of the progressives claim that their products are well-versed in the essential tools, even superior to the traditional product. However, there is daily evidence that runs counter to this claim.

One of the stranger aspects of the whole controversy is the fantastic charge that progressive education makes for regimentation and statism. My criticism is that with their excessive emphasis upon the individual's progress, the progressives willingly sacrifice the interests of the larger group. It is a common experience today to have in a class a pupil retarded by one or two years in arithmetic slowing up the progress of the class as a whole, all for the purpose of keeping the child with his age group.

This leads logically to the doctrine of "no failures" and, ultimately, to 100 per cent promotion. With one wasteful stroke the elementary school has freed itself of all troublesome problems. That the problem reappears in aggravated form in the high schools doesn't seem to trouble the progressives in the elementary grades at all. Unless a miracle occurs to galvanize high-school teachers into spirited action, the fundamental skills may become college subjects.

Brooklyn, N. Y. CHARLES SALKIND

Shippers' Costs

Dear Sirs: Aleine Austin in her article The Revolt Against Joe Ryan, which appeared in your December 1 issue, points out the difference between our contract and that of the International Longshoremen's Association on the East

A MOTHER *writes from* *Sing Sing's* **DEATH HOUSE:**

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TIME IS SHORT — *Get the Facts Now!*

In a pamphlet published by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, Mr. William Reuben, a crusading journalist who "broke" the Trenton Six case, has cast grave doubt on the government's case against the Rosenbergs. The Rosenbergs may never see another winter if their appeal is denied.

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Coast. But from this she draws what seems to me the erroneous conclusion that it costs more to do business on the West Coast and that, therefore, "the employers have everything to gain by maintaining the *status quo* on the Eastern docks."

It is difficult for us to lay hands on cost figures for the industry. However, a California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on San Francisco Bay Ports has just issued its final report, in which are presented the following figures for stevedoring costs:

Port	*Loading*	*Discharging*
Philadelphia	$5.69	$6.12
New York	5.28	6.00
Norfolk	4.81	5.85
Baltimore	4.44	5.92
San Francisco Bay	4.30	4.95

According to this report stevedoring costs in San Francisco are lower than those for any one of the four major East Coast ports shown, both for loading and discharging.

I would conclude that despite what are probably the lower labor costs on the East Coast, shippers actually are stuck for a higher cost owing to the loading racket and other similar added costs. This is not to say that East Coast employers have everything to gain by tossing out the racketeers and substituting a decent set-up such as we have on the West Coast. I am simply trying to set the record straight.

In general, the article is a good one. It might have been useful to analyze the composition of the fact-finding board which is now holding hearings in New York. I believe that such an analysis would have shown that the cards are stacked against the strikers in the board as well as elsewhere.

LINCOLN FAIRLEY, Research Director,
International Longshoremen's
and Warehousemen's Union
San Francisco, Cal.

An Appeal for Struik

Dear Sirs: As *The Nation* so well remarked in its excellent article of November 24, Honor Thy Informer, by Joseph E. Garland, a fire has indeed been started in the native state of the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. The case of Professor Dirk J. Struik, internationally known mathematician and a member of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for twenty-five years, has aroused his fellow-citizens to take decisive action on his behalf.

Professor Struik, as *Nation* readers know, has been indicted, under a 1919 state law never previously invoked, for allegedly advocating the violent overthrow of the governments of Massachusetts and of the United States. Believing this indictment to be a potential threat to freedom of expression, we, the undersigned, have joined with over forty others—professors, clergymen, and other citizens of Massachusetts—to form a defense committee whose purpose is to raise funds for Professor Struik's legal defense.

Costs of the trial alone are expected to run into many thousands of dollars. The need for funds is therefore urgent and must be met through private contributions. We appeal to all freedom-loving people to give to this cause as generously as possible. Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Mary M. Leue, 258 Mt. Vernon St., West Newton 65, Mass., or to Dr. George Sarton, 5 Channing Place, Cambridge 38, Mass.

GEORGE SARTON, Chairman, Struik Defense Committee; WARREN A. AMBROSE, BART J. BOK, WALDO FRANK, DANA MCCLEAN GREELEY, WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, MARK DE WOLFE HOWE, WITHOLD HUREWICZ, KIRTLEY F. MATHER, PHILIP M. MORSE, RALPH BARTON PERRY, NICHOLAS SLONIMSKY, NORBERT WIENER, JOHN WILD, MARY M. LEUE

West Newton, Mass.

Hannah Bloom Commended

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to know that recently the liberal caucus of the Los Angeles Democratic County Central Committee passed unanimously a resolution which read in part:

Whereas, in *The Nation* magazine for December 29, 1951, there appears an article by Hannah Bloom in which it is revealed that Alexander Schullman and A. L. Wirin, having proclaimed a continuing of their struggle for justice for all, are being attacked and pilloried by many forces, among these being organizations whose own rights have in the past and will in the future be concerned, and for which they should be commended rather than censured, now

Be it resolved that the liberal caucus of the Los Angeles Democratic County Central Committee does hereby extend deserved recognition and commendation to Alexander Schullman and A. L. Wirin as the principals, and to Hannah Bloom and *The Nation* for disseminating the information as a great service to the public.

ROBERT S. MORRIS, JR.
GEORGE M. COWELL

Los Angeles, Cal.

CORRECTION

The remarks on the Vatican appointment attributed to Mrs. Roosevelt in an editorial in last week's issue were of course made by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., as reported in an A. P. story of October 21. Our apologies to Mrs. Roosevelt for the error.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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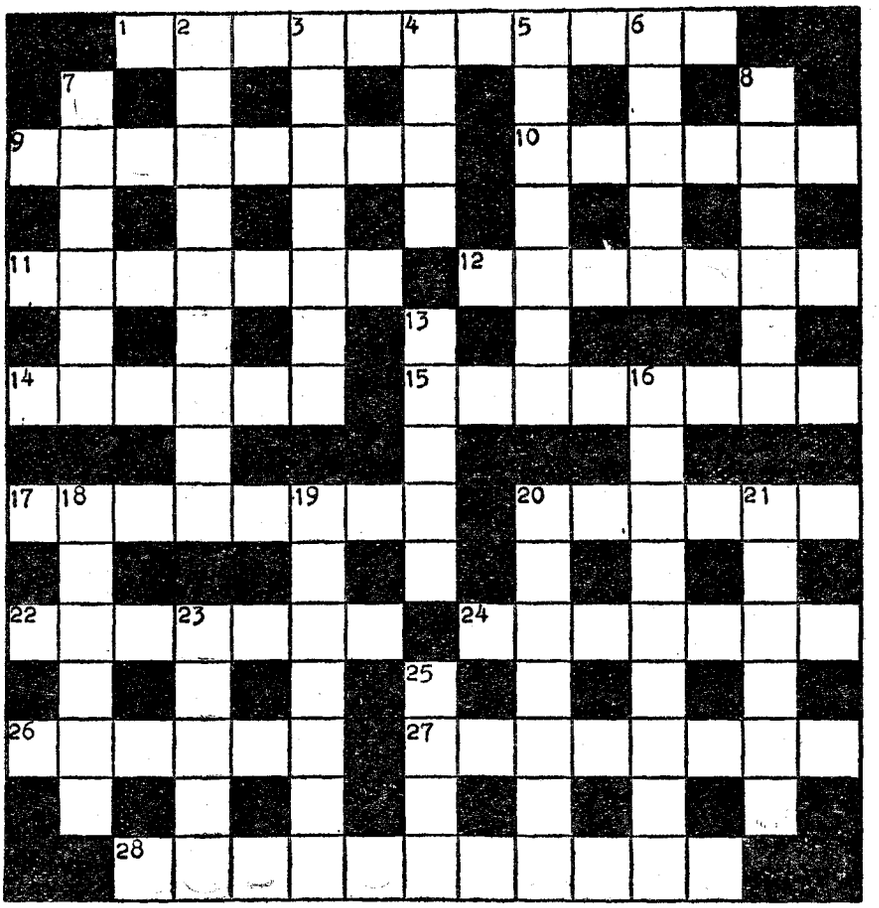
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Indiscriminate mixture. (11)
9 An old saying to judge, perhaps. (5, 3)
10 Proving that art and sex can be mixed in colossal movie productions. (6)
11, 12 and 15. Implying the celestial origin of light? (7, 3, 4, 2, 6)
12 See 1.
14, 22 and 27. Implying it takes copper to produce reflections? (1, 5, 3, 4, 8)
15 See 11.
17 Regular attendant of the early G. O. P. (8)
20 Increase with this produced Cotton. (6)
22 See 14.
24 Pens. (7)
26 Secure way to make things safe. (6)
27 See 14.
28 It certainly isn't the heavenly quality of the snails there! (11)

DOWN

2 Hobo mountain (covered with rye)? (4, 5)
3 Applied to life, it's sweet and tuneful. (7)
4 Held together in all directions. (4)
5 You do 28 by decapitation, so dig for it. (7)
6 Fetish. (5)
7 Fold one's tents? (6)
8 Trade in the first thing you pick up in a suitcase. (6)
13 Kept by one who establishes his own dateline. (5)
16 Compresses. (9)
18 Is Barrymore one extremely ill sorted? (6)
19 This is rich! (7)
20 A short day goes almost immediately in bad weather. (7)
21 Turns inside out. (6)
23 It comes back with accuracy, if you take the car out. (5)
25 Recognized by you and others as a tale of sorts. (2, 2)

• • ● • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 448

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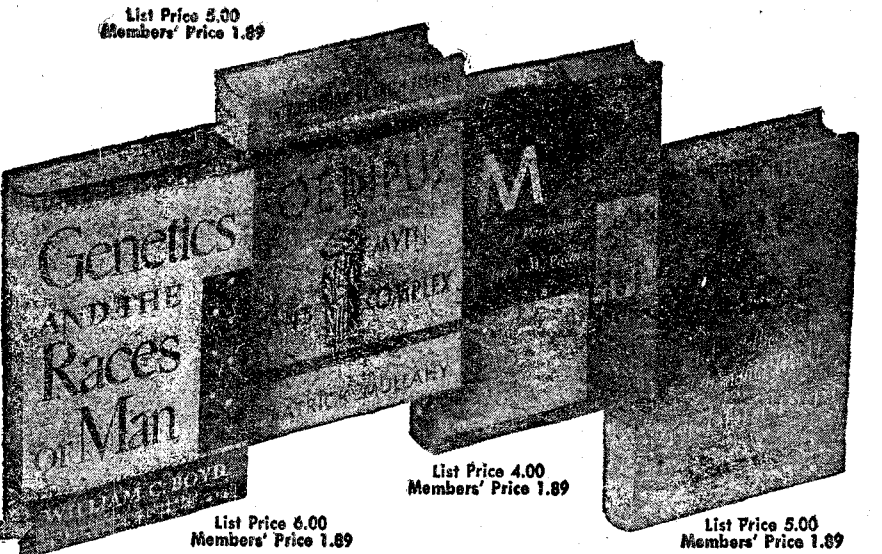

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